

OCTOBER, 1948

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SOCIAL ORDER

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Robert G. North
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For Private Circulation

SOCIAL ORDER

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MODERN TECHNIQUES TO FIGHT COMMUNISM

Italy's Civic Committees Instil Civismo

by Robert G. North, S.J.

Instituto Biblico, Rome

TO PESCARA, industrial center of the Adriatic fisheries, goes the credit for the beanstalk rise of the Civic Committees, prime factor in the Christian victory in Italy's recent elections. A minor election in Pescara put the Communists in power, electrified foreign observers, and awakened Italians.¹

Just after this event, on February 8, Luigi Gedda organized simultaneous meetings of active lay groups in centers throughout Italy, and the Civic Committees were born.

Gedda, a Turin bachelor doctor of 46, had deserved well of Italian Catholicism as founder of the "Asso-

ciation of Lay Religious" and head of the men's branch of Catholic Action. But at the moment it was felt that there was need for a separate organization, less directly under the direction of the hierarchy than Catholic Action (to temper the charge of "ecclesiastical politics") and also broader than Catholic Action, coordinating the anti-Communist activities of other lay groups and even of seminaries and religious orders.

The Communists were racing toward an election victory on two fronts: organization and mass-appeal. The organization problem was the easier one to solve, with the diocese-parish network ready at hand to help.

Nationwide Framework

Three levels were quickly organized. The CCD (Comitato Civico Diocesano) was to be a group, either lay or clerical, working in each diocese to receive material from the national center and pass it on to the local or parish unit (CCL). A representative of the bishop served in an advisory capacity. What additional support the chancery-office provided varied in each case: Msgr. Gilla-Gremigni of Teramo, administrator of Pescara, was among the more active.

At the top level (CCNazionale) was Gedda's central "Mobilization" coun-

¹ The honor was in a sense not undeserved. I have never been spoken to by Communists with more respectful and sincere Catholic spirit than at Pescara. Husky Carmine Santilli, 19, told me that at nearby Toccoa his sixty farm-boy comrades, all their life devout Sodalists, "just couldn't understand" when at their regular meeting the priest told them no Communists could remain. "We all left, because he wanted us to. We had our meeting and prayers in another hall just the same ever since." When I tried to put a few issues straight, older, square-jawed Alberto Bayone lent an attentive ear, and defended the boy's cause and his own with patient questioning that revealed no less his own shrewdness and basic faith than the slyness with which Communists had preempted every talking-point in the burdened lives of these honest people.

cil, including Signor Veronese, president of Catholic Action; Signorina Badaloni, active in education work (who kindly provided me with much of this information); and our Father Giacomo Martegani, superior of *Civiltà Cattolica*.

Parallel to this bureau were those of psychology (i.e. propaganda), transportation, and information (to secure data on enemy tactics and issue it in the form of a bulletin for the newspapers). There was a secretariat, whose voluminous correspondence was handled by Father Lucio of the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God.

Part Jesuits Played

A sixth bureau, though not strictly top-level, assumed such proportions that to many collaborators it and its director, our Father Luciano Caldiroli, were simply synonymous with the Civic Committee. This was the bureau that directed the activities of "personal propaganda."

Father Caldiroli is 31, a fourth-year theologian from the Venice province, who had once escaped from the mission of Albania under the protection of the Nuncio. Appointed by the Rector of the Rome scholasticate (Father Emanuel Porta, recently Provincial and Visitor) to represent him at a strategy meeting of the heads of Rome's religious houses, Father Caldiroli was spotted for his important task by Dr. Carlo Carretto, the "advertising director."

Assisting Father Caldiroli was Massimo Taggi, 22, a Roman philosopher from Leghorn, to whom Father Porta referred me for reliable information on the part Ours played in the Committees. It was Taggi who told me, philosopher-wise, that his bureau was not "un' Ente ma una Relazione," and the description he gave of their work fairly justified that expression.

It was a kind of "matrimonial bu-

reau," he said, to find happy partners from the two streams of applications that quickly began pouring in: from the diocesan committees, requests for campaigners; and from the Generals of the religious orders, offers of the men (some 2000) they could make available for the No. 1 apostolate of 1948 Italy.

Most of these campaigners were seminarians or priests in higher studies. The problem raised for the ecclesiastical colleges was a formidable one. It was solved by a directive of Cardinal Pizzardo. The courses and examination schedules for the current term would continue unabated. But every Italian cleric was to be considered entitled and even obligated to miss the two months of class that were involved. As in the case of other absences due to a struggle for health or life, what was missed would have to be made up privately. This arrangement worked out to everyone's satisfaction, excepting perhaps the foreign clerics who had to keep going to school while some two-thirds of their comrades were adventuring.

Many of these clerics were in *borghese*, "disguised as handsome young men." To the remotest corners of Italy they were sent, and found lodging and some direction with the parish priest; but for the most part they were left to their own resources and the abundant personal guidance coming from the Central committee.

Unlike the Jesuit of English fiction, none of our scholastics were sent on their mission incognito. Some 50 Rome philosophers and theologians were assigned to that tight circle of laborers' housing-projects called the periphery or "the Red belt" of Rome. Typical was the one I met at the little church of the Redeemer near Monte Sacro out towards Soracte where I supplied on the pre-election Sundays for a Biblical student-priest campaigning in Sicily.

At San Redentore, Giulio di Laura, 24, a first-year philosopher, had been coming each day for several weeks, to return at a late hour of the night; but in the last days he stayed permanently on the scene. His instructions had been to make a careful catalogue of the Three Classes of Men (and Women): A, Communists; B, doubters; C, anti-Communists. The whole attack was to be concentrated on Class B. It was admittedly impracticable even to attempt converting a Communist in the space of two months, a grudging tribute to the effectiveness of their indoctrination.

Such was the organization, from central through diocesan down to parochial level. But the young campaigner, even if in *borghese*, knew he was up against barriers in attempting to stick up for the clerical party, "*il governo nero*." For *mass-appeal* we were at a great disadvantage. This was partly because the Communists had outsmarted us and got there ahead.

Propaganda Techniques Sought

But it was even more because they were not overly impeded by moral issues. Young people like to go to dances. The Communists have dances for them. The Church in Italy and France disapproves of dancing.

Then in the realm of argument, there is a winning simplicity to the Communist approach. Bludgeoning may not be refined, but it is more amusing than the neat logic of the Encyclicals, and decidedly easier to understand and repeat.

The headlines of the Communist paper provide a tasty dish day after day without ever a thought for varying the menu. Their simple recipe: 1) A *true* statement well known to be true; 2) a distorted interpretation, backed up with blatant lies in small print; 3) a screaming, savage accusa-

tion. Cippico, the Vatican swindler fitted the recipe perfectly.²

Bludgeoning and pandering are two weapons difficult to find the answer to—but Gedda and his council found it. There is one thing people, especially Italians, like even more, and that is a good laugh. The campaign was planned to have the populace grin, then giggle, then roar and hold their sides. It succeeded so well that many foreigners observed, "A pity they don't realize what a serious matter a democratic election is; but the posters gave us a great vaudeville show for two months."

The Laugh Campaign

From campaign headquarters in Rome were distributed 60 million posters and signs, plus the seven million contributed from America. This meant that through the peak of the campaign one huge truck pulled out every half-hour from the loading-dock, destined for remote corners of Italy. (Nothing could be trusted to the trains. Sleuth-eyed comrades converted every scrap they found. Every leaflet was printed thickly on both sides, to leave no space available for postscripts in Red.)

And the *soldi*? Some came from America, especially from the parish priests. Some came from Italian industrialists, a little fearfully as if they realized that after Stalin the next target would be the Communists' best

² But far lesser figures had their hour in print. The Biblical Institute was immortalized in invective because: 1) six government supported families were being evicted from our property to make room for building operations; 2) to accommodate these six families, 250 families of war-victims were being evicted from a government building; 3) therefore 40 priests were occupying rooms sufficient for 250 families—and the headlines screamed "Eight rooms for each priest—and they go talking about charity!" (*Unita*, February 26, 1948, p. 2.)

support in Italy—not Comrade Togliatti—but the bloated bank-accounts and luxury-restaurants. But the lion's share of the expense-account was paid by Ireland, which managed to slip 45 thousand pounds past Britain's iron currency-curtain. Joseph Walshe, Irish ambassador to the Holy See, was one of Gedda's most vigorous collaborators.

The laugh campaign was launched in three stages. 1) Vote for anybody, but *vote*. The posters of the two rabbits, the headless man, the frowzy morons ("they don't vote because . . .") have become a part of the Italian classics. 2) Vote *against* the Fraud (clever way of spelling out the Communist symbol). 3) Vote *for* the right party.

(It was hoped that the more subtle among the voters would catch the hint and vote for the Christian Democrats. Actually, not even the optimists had imagined that the center parties would be so stranded in the headlong flight from the Left.)

Speaking Their Language

Humor was not the only weapon. There was enough smear to let the Reds know what it tastes like. There was a good dose of fear too, with giant bloody boots trampling from the northeast. A loaf of bread of mouth-watering freshness was split in unequal parts by the slogan: "The bread we eat: 40% from Italy, 60% America's gift." April Fool's day posters directed gullible hordes to Communist HQ to apply for "food from the Friendship Train from Russia."

In the grey dawn of the last day of battle, weary paperhangers flitted about unveiling the fresh, clean, open-air appeal from the athletes of Italy: signed action photographs of the great heroes of sport seconding the Holy Father's Easter plea to the youth and

brown of the nation. This last-minute inspiration of the Psychology committee had been lithographed in haste and dispatched by plane. Its enormous influence was proportioned to the number of intelligent males who turn up their noses at tiresomely political Italian "news"papers to bury themselves in "Il Corriere dello Sport."

No Time to Stop

This poster symbolized the great revolution. The Christian cause in Italy had begun to speak the language of the country wherein it resides, instead of the academic maxims which had left honest laborers of Pescara glassy-eyed with innocent incomprehension.

After the elections Pius XII said: "An entire people has given proof of its grave sense of civic duty, and Italy's skies are much brighter with hope for that tranquility of order which will make possible and should hasten the material and social reconstruction of the country which is so necessary if justice is to be done to all, especially to the workingman and the unemployed."

The success of the campaign is well known in America, perhaps even exaggerated. To Italian observers the lesson is shockingly plain: "Why are not these same techniques being exploited, not for a temporary repulse, but for a radical re-education of the mentality that produced a seedground for Communism; for a reform of the evils that gave Communism its talking-points with a profoundly Christian populace?" I quote verbatim the statement issued in the CC organ, *Noi Uomini*, after the elections:

"The Civic Committees arose in Italy as if by miracle. They were, and are, an expression of the widespread need Catholics felt to regain their solid unity and to make it known intelligently. The Civic Committees have

not only finished an advertising-job. It is true they dominated unquestionably the whole course of the print-and-poster battle of the pre-election period. But their importance goes beyond, in that they gave new vigor to the formation of the civic and social conscience of Italian Catholics. . . .

"With legitimate pride we can state today that Italian Catholics are at the head of the struggle against the oppression of ideologies foreign to the nation and to the spirit; that Italian Catholics have sounded the keynote of the battle, that is to say of a religious war conducted by democratic and legal means, but above all with a new and daring intelligence.

"The noise has died down. Now the Civic Committees propose to continue in existence, to reaffirm with the prestige and the authority conferred upon them by the millions of militant Catholics, the presence of these millions in the public life of the country, and the moral pressure of the social problem.

"By their presence the Civic Committees will cooperate for the inauguration of a truer justice and of a fairer distribution of wealth; . . . to develop the mental minors into full-grown citizens, and exploit to the utmost the numberless spiritual resources of the great majority of Italians."

Just What is the Crisis?

This is a superb platform, even allowing for a certain tendency of advertisers to advertise themselves along with their product (witness Luckman's "Save Food" campaign). It remains to see whether they can capitalize on the prestige conferred upon them by an emergency. Not adequately, they seem to admit: because they distinguish between their "crisis-activity" of election-time, and their "peace-time activity," which consists more or less in maintaining a trained skeleton force to be ready for the next crisis.

Meanwhile, of course, they are "sharpening their tools," chiefly by trying to break the Communist grip on labor-unions, which could paralyze government by means of industry. Specific projects for the CC units are proposed in a new publication, *Collegamento*, inaugurated June 7 for the committee personnel.

Of the new spirit which the CC hope to inject into Italian citizens, Father Felix Morlion, O.P., says:

"The civic spirit ("Civismo") can be defined as the relation which unites citizens working for the same end which constitutes the State, while patriotism is the loyalty of heart to all the characteristics proper to the nation. In our century this distinction has acquired a dramatic importance. Nations, having their roots in nature, should remain diverse, autonomous, and ever seeking to refine and deepen themselves. States, on the other hand, are progressively less able to guarantee the well-being of their people and need to become subordinated to the supra-national and supra-state organization now in the first pangs of birth. . . . The people must be educated in an international civic spirit."

To the objection (made in U.S.A.) that the real crisis consists in the existence of social evils in the Italian distribution of wealth, which are providing a constant bloodstream for Communist life, the Civic Committees answer with hearty agreement—in general. But in detail, what to do? Primarily, it seems, they conceive their duty is "to back up the government's program and educate the people to approve of it." "We don't feel it's our place," I was told, "to tell the government what to do!" With a fairly Christian government in control, this is an understandable attitude, especially since they insist that they are not merely yes-men but will be quick to protest any compromise of Christian principles.

To the further objection that a more aggressive attitude in *demanding* proper legislation seems in place to assure duped Communists that promises made in the name of Christian social justice will be promptly kept, the answers are not always encouraging: workmen aren't really so badly off; the disparity between classes is quite exaggerated; granting them too much merely increases their dissatisfaction; the basic trouble is not social inequalities but the inadequacy of natural resources. Then too, an attempt to enforce radical reforms at this moment would naturally hit hardest at some of the strongest anti-Communist forces and thereby splinter De Gasperi's surface unity into dissident factions at the mercy of Moscow.

The problem exists. Educated Italians are, by and large, well-to-do Italians. Educated Italians are the ones capable of understanding Christian social teaching and applying it. Well-to-do Italians are the ones who would suffer first by such application. It requires unusual foresight and backbone to inflict the wound which alone can result in ultimate health even for themselves.

Father Lombardi's Answer

Only with shrewd prodding from the eloquent can Italy's Catholic leadership steel itself to this step. Hence we may reasonably conclude with a word about our Father Riccardo Lombardi's "crusade," which, though not formally connected with the Civic Committees, occupies a posi-

tion of parallel potential importance. The two founders, Gedda and Father Lombardi, are in close personal and advisory relations. Both organizations in their manifestos claim to be not a new association but a mobilization and coordination of *all* existing Catholic groups working for the betterment of Italy.

Naturally Father Lombardi's orientation is interior rather than political, pivoting about the giant midnight Masses at which thousands of men come to receive the sacraments (Gedda's idea, I am told). Originally Father Lombardi found his auditory in university circles, but he saw it gradually extending to other professionals and thence to the throngs in the piazza. This gave birth to his conviction that Italy is ready for a complete renewal, "an age where the social order is inspired by the Gospel, as Communism is inspired by Marx."

The immediate effect of Father Lombardi's crusade has been the spontaneous offer of several millions in alms. He asks his enthusiastic listeners the telling question, "What are you doing *for* those who work for you? Does it stop with their *wages*?" In Milan, industrialists responded by setting about five housing projects for 250 families in Vialba.

When the effective organization of the Civic Committees can tap the resources of spontaneous lay enthusiasm of Father Lombardi's crusade, but in the name of justice instead of charity, it will be a bad day for Italy's Communists.

BARTERING THE OPPORTUNITY

Social Attitudes of American Catholic Clergy

by Edward Duff, S.J.

America

FATHER JOSEPH DONNELLY explained in his *Social Action Bulletin* last April that local labor leaders provided a prompt answer to his question on the achievements of the Hartford Diocesan program of labor schools. The chief profit, as they saw it, was the changed attitude of the parish priests who now give them at least a sympathetic hearing. Even that judgment, they conceded, was an over-all impression.

It would be interesting to have available a more accurate index of the social attitudes of the clergy, some estimate of how satisfied priests are with the present distribution of income in America, some answer to one's curiosity of how representative of clerical opinion is the verdict of Father Edward Keller of Notre Dame who believes that the American system of free enterprise (apart from a few details) generally and generously accords with Catholic expectations.

Changed Climate of Opinion

Lord Bryce observed in his *The American Commonwealth* that "in the United States, public opinion is the opinion of the whole nation, with little distinction of social classes" and that "what the employer thinks, his workers think." That was the America of 1888, and much has transpired since then, markedly the growth of the

modern corporation, the progressive mechanization of production with a consequent growth of a proletariat and a reduction of the proportion of the population owning self-sustaining farms.

A more recent development is the organized power of the trade unions as a weapon in a struggle for workers' rights, as a tool to cut the propertyless a larger slice of the pie that is the product of industrial civilization.

Opinion polls carefully sift out responses these days on nearly every question depending on the economic status of the person they are interrogating. "Executives" are listed as holding one opinion; "workers" (divided often into organized and non-organized categories) are given separate entry. Where, in the range of preferences of the different economic groups, would the ideas of Father F. X. Average fall?

Detailed Study Made

It is nearly ten years ago that an elaborate effort to calibrate social attitudes was made by a competent sociologist. The city of Akron was the campus of the inquiry that took the form of a half-hour interview of 1,700 people. The results were published over the signature of Alfred Winslow Jones under the title, *Life, Liberty, and Property* by J. B. Lippincott in

1941. Large-scale assistance of the Federal Writers' project made possible the interviews; the study was completed under the auspices of the Institute for Applied Social Analysis.

The project proposed to study the relationship between certain attitudes and opinions and the "position in life" of the person involved; it would seek to discover if certain differences of judgment and outlook are closely related to economic position. Since corporate property is the symbol—and the governing reality—of our economic system with everyone related to it in some fashion, whether as worker or manager or stockholder, if there were discoverable class differences in our society, they would be manifested, the sociologists believed, in attitudes towards the activities of the modern industrial corporation.

Test Made by Examples

Akron was chosen because, besides being a historical laboratory for the industrial struggle, it happens to be a one-industry town, a fact which would ostensibly simplify the picture. Attitudes were appraised in a rather novel type of interview. Each person interrogated was told eight stories, not fictitious episodes, but events of the recent past that concerned an antagonism in which one of the sides is working to protect the interests of corporate property and the other side to gain an advantage or avert an evil of a simple personal nature. Property rights versus personal rights is the conflict manifest in each incident.

One story, for example, reported the action of unemployed miners in the hard coal districts of Pennsylvania taking coal from idle mines. Another elaborated the threat of a company to move part of its production away from a city when confronted with a wage-increase demand that would reduce but not ruin profit for dividends. A

third account described the fate of a farmer whose neighbors acted so menacingly at an auction that the foreclosure in favor of a bank was effectively forestalled. At the end of the story the person interviewed was asked to say whether he approved or disapproved of the action described and was graded according to the sympathies declared in his choice.

Clergy Opinions Varied

Nine priests were included in the survey, and a report on their attitudes—along with that of the ministers and rabbis—is summarized in a chapter on "The Clergy." A pretty complete lack of homogeneity of ideas appeared in their appraisal of what, after all, were modern if complex moral *casus* problems. Apart from a pastor whose interview couldn't be scored, so unresponsive and ranting were his replies, the judgments of the clergy were pretty evenly distributed from No. 22 (top possible score was No. 32, favoring property rights) to No. 1. "In various mixtures, compassion, harshness, gentleness, anger, and regard for the law" is the author's summary of their pastoral theology (p. 213).

Comment on the individual clerical replies would call for an explicit reproduction of the stories which would demand altogether too much space. Almost as interesting will be the conclusions of the examining sociologist who, it should be remembered, is merely reporting social attitudes.

"Their remarks (the priests') showed that there is no monolithic body of social doctrine in the Catholic church, at least as far as we can judge from our small sample of the Akron clergy. In diversity and quality, the free comment of the priests was just what we might have expected to hear from any group of Akronites that scored slightly below the general average" (i.e. average of preferences

for personal rights over property rights) (p. 213).

About half the priests of the city were interviewed. "The opinions and ideas," says the editor, "are as disparate as those found in any group. If the hierarchy of the Church, either in this country or Rome, seeks to impose its social values upon the clergy, either it does not succeed, or its ideas do not cover specific cases such as were described in our stories" (p. 217-18).

Editor Comments

Overt editorializing by the secular sociologist who concludes that "the pronouncements of the Church are too vague and general to provide a guide for judging these issues" obtrudes (p. 218). The "guild corporativism" of the encyclicals is termed "not native American" but, even so, "the backward-looking effect of the Church's pronouncement upon the Akron clergy appears to be very slight" (p. 219)—an observation that would indicate, I take it, that the idea of the Industry Councils had not made any great impact on clerical thinking at that time.

The diversity of priestly preference in the moral issues involved in the cases provides warrant for editorial summary that asserts:

"Other groups in society clearly entertain social philosophies which rather uniformly condition their attitude toward specific issues and toward corporate property in general. We have already shown that the top industrial leaders in Akron tend to great uniformity in their values. The same is true at the other extreme, of Socialists and Communists. It is apparently not true of Catholics. The Church demands of its communicants a very rigid adherence to certain practices—such as, for instance, relate to divorce and birth control. The 'political church' seeks also to inculcate sharp

partisanship in certain foreign issues, such as the recent Spanish war. We cannot, however, accuse the Church of ever having tried to direct its American communicants into rigid attitudes concerning the specific issues in which corporate property is involved. How far it would succeed if it should attempt to do so, is impossible to predict" (p. 219).

"The Protestant ministers show no more homogeneity in their ideas than do the Catholic priests," reports the editor (p. 219).

Bartering the Opportunity

A wider and more equitable distribution of the national income, the object of all Catholic thinking, is inescapably tied up with social control of the modern corporation. That involves inevitably a larger share for labor and a stronger voice for society in the policy decisions of industry. It involves, perforce, a change—and coherent moral judgments must shape that change. Possibly Muncie, Indiana is less Catholic in population than Akron. Of Muncie the Lynds' wrote, "Middletown's churches appear to be forever bartering the opportunity for leadership in the area of change, for the right to continue a shadowy leadership in the Changeless" (*Middletown in Transition*, p. 309). The author of *Life, Liberty and Property* is more generous: "The clergy of Akron as well as elsewhere frequently find that they must, in their public utterances, retire to a religious pinnacle remote from concrete struggle. But in their innermost desires, they seem to put themselves in the place of 'the people' and to regard the common welfare as the greatest good. Whether these values must remain for the most part latent or whether they will ever find the opportunity to emerge in overt behavior on a broad scale, only the future can decide" (p. 224).

These values will find the opportunity to emerge in overt behavior on a broad scale only if a tradition of coherent Catholic social thinking becomes established in America.

Theological premises and the mandates of obedience offer sounder bases for efforts in social education on the part of the Society than expediency. Two conclusions from the Akron survey, however, have their interest:

1) "The group with the highest regard for corporate property (most top business executives and some others) is not likely to gain or regain political and social leadership and a broad popular following if it bases its statement and actions on the sentiments and attitudes it manifested in our study" (p. 335).

2) "Economic and social action that satisfied the people whose scores fall

in the central area (regard for a balance of personal and property rights) could also satisfy the preponderant number of workers in all categories" (p. 339).

The value of the survey in *Life, Liberty and Property* and the soundness of its observation on the diversity of clerical social attitudes turn wholly on the validity of its method, which a statistician will be in the best position to appraise. In any case, the stories that served to test social attitudes could be added to the Community library of monthly *casus*. They might even serve to reveal an index of Jesuit social attitudes. For it might be kept in mind that the church from which—according to the report—the Prominent Parishioner demonstratively strode when the preacher mentioned *Quadragesimo Anno* was in Akron. And the Prominent Parishioner was a Jesuit college alumnus.

More Powerful Than Communism

The Communist party exacts their all from the men who join it. Let us not have any doubts about the fact that its appeal goes deep into their hearts. The tragedy is that once the Party has gained the confidence of a member it misuses this confidence. In order to defeat a power which is so deeply rooted, a supernatural force and a supernatural faith are needed. I asked myself whether there exists a force which has never been defeated or reduced in the course of the centuries, and I found myself compelled to recognize that the only such force is Christianity. . . . I could not help seeing that Christ, when He came to this world, chose to come as the son of a carpenter, and I believe that, by doing so, God wanted to bless the workers.

Fred Copeman, a recent convert to Catholicism, former secretary of the Communist party of Great Britain.

SAVIORS OF FREE ENTERPRISE

The Committee for Constitutional Government

by R. Bernard, S.J.

Saint Mary's College

SIX POUNDS OF BOOKS, pamphlets and leaflets may rain down on you as they did on me, from a penny postal request to the Committee for Constitutional Government for sample free publications.

Besides the 24 folders listed as free, the package spilled out 10 copies of a 192-page booklet *For Americans Only*, two copies of Thomas Norton's *The Constitution of the United States*, one copy of *Challenge to Freedom*, by Henry M. Wriston and one copy of *Revolution* by Robert Hunter. All except Wriston's were issued either by the Committee for Constitutional Government, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, or by America's Future, "a non-profit, syndicating, publishing, and book distributing corporation under the laws of Delaware" domiciled at 210 East 43rd Street, New York 17 (but using the same telephone number, Murray Hill 4-1102).

You can't underestimate CCG if you read *Needed Now—Capacity for Leadership, Courage to Lead*, the attractive 47-page history of the Committee and its works from which much of this material has been taken. CCG looks proudly on its vigilance for free enterprise and the American way of life. Its first feat was to stop Roosevelt's "packing the Supreme Court" in 1937, "one of the most dramatically waged congressional battles in our history—as well as one of the most effective and intensive public

mobilizations ever put forward during any legislative struggle." CCG admits "outstanding services upon the frontier of public opinion" (p. 10).

How It Started

The Committee grew from a small Republican discussion group under the leadership of Frank Gannett, Rochester (N.Y.) chain newspaper publisher. Its main objective was professedly to deflate the New Deal, with the Court bill as a happy target. Gannett "whipped" the group into shape and saw that 35,000 letters went out to state leaders, asking their help against the court project. "Results of the Gannett test mailing indicated strongly that it could become a people's fight. Replies flowed in urging organization to defeat the bill, and checks to support organized education averaged \$10 each but totaled more than \$1,000 daily during the next few weeks" (p. 4). The Committee admits it raised and spent \$200,000 on this issue (p. 7).

Since the place to persuade congressman is back home, CCG reached the home folks and their leaders by mail—10 million envelopes stuffed with anti-Roosevelt arguments in 24 weeks. Each recipient was someone who counted in his locality—"educators, members of civic bodies or patriotic organizations, members of women's clubs, governors, mayors, commissioners, and contributors to party campaign funds" (p. 6). It is inter-

esting to note that names of contributors are never revealed.

Inside the millions of envelopes lay reprints, "open letters," subscription blanks, suggestions for protest action, appeals for more names. Fifteen million reprints of *Congressional Record* anti-court-packing material went to small-townners and farmers in 15 states. The Senate Judiciary committee's long report on the Court bill was aimed at several hundred thousand leaders over the country. Finally to 32,000 citizens in the home states of 12 wavering senators went a 125-word telegram at a cost of \$1.27 per message. The campaign won out.

More Triumphs

Next CCG defeated the Reorganization bill by the same means, plus radio transcriptions. While the Bill was under debate Dr. Edward Rumely, then executive secretary, with the approval of Gannett and Representative Samuel Pettengill, refused to submit "papers, letters and telegrams" in CCG files for examination by the Minton committee, a senate group investigating lobbies. Rumely and his associates felt safe behind the Fourth Amendment, they said. Soon the refusal of additional funds killed the Minton group, "which had harassed business for years" (p. 13).

When in the summer of 1938 "the administration entered the primaries with its own candidates against senators and representatives who had shown independence," CCG did what it could to defeat the "purge" by circulating literature in all "threatened" states and districts. Another flood of mail defeated the \$400 million-a-month lend-lease bill—with the help of Congress, of course. The Wagner Health bill, which would "have extended bureaucracy to the fields of health and medicine," was pigeonholed when the Committee pointed out

its dangers, "not the least of which was the fact that state medicine would take another six per cent of all industrial payrolls" and "...wage-earners would have staggered under the load..." (p. 19).

In 1940 the first act of the new CCG chairman, Pettengill, was "a Washington's Birthday letter stressing the value of the American Heritage of free enterprise and warning of the drift toward national socialism." Pettengill spread a million copies of his pamphlet against a third term for Roosevelt. His book, *Smoke Screen*, "spoke not for party or candidate, but for American business and the free enterprise system" to more than half a million readers (p. 20). Seven million copies of *Time Table for Dictatorship* were distributed. Petitions were circulated to pledge candidates for Congress to support a presidential tenure amendment. Full-page ads ran in every principal city's leading newspaper. A Carnegie Hall mass meeting and two national broadcasts followed.

Down With Redistribution of Wealth

In 1942 the Committee attacked salary limitation, in which it "saw a long step towards complete disruption of the free enterprise system" and "frustration of individual endeavor and ambition" and a violation of "at least the best traditions which the Constitution fosters." After all, the Committee consisted of men "who decided to take time off from their own affairs and dedicate themselves to the restoration of free enterprise and constitutional principles" (p. 23). After the usual mailings Congress felt the same way.

CCG admits grudgingly that "Congress is still under pressure from the redistribution-of-wealth radicals to embody their doctrine in federal taxation" (p. 25). Among such radicals CCG might name (though it hasn't up

to now) Pius XII, who said to the men of Catholic Action of Italy, September 7, 1947: "What you can and ought to strive for is a more just distribution of wealth. This is and this remains a central point in Catholic social doctrine. . . . The Church is opposed to the accumulation of these goods in the hands of a relatively small and exceedingly rich group, while vast masses of people are condemned to a pauperism and an economic condition unworthy of human beings. . . ." *Quadragesimo Anno* might also have been denounced for its blasts at greed (cf. Paragraphs 58 and 60).

Consequently the battle is joined to put a ceiling on the taxing power of Congress, with the Committee actively sponsoring a proposed 22nd Amendment to limit the 16th Amendment. Today no less than 14 state legislatures have passed resolutions for its serious consideration. While all previous constitutional amendments were adopted by the simpler method, ratification by three-fourths of the states, CCG's method would supposedly help the states regain power steadily lost to the federal government. Needless to say, education for the need of cutting the taxes of the wealthy is now a major task facing CCG.

Methods

The Committee does not hide its plan of attack. It strategizes thus: "In every district about 65 out of every 100 are registered voters. Of this 65, about 40 vote on election day. Of these 40, only 16 vote in the primaries—which is an average of eight in either party. Of these eight, a candidate needs only five to win a primary.

"Thus, a minority group which knows what it wants and how to get it, may send a rubber stamp to Congress although that minority may number less than 5 per cent of our population." Here is its secret. "If a vig-

ilant, militant 5 per cent is at work in each congressional district, free enterprise and preservation of the Constitution need not become political issues" (p. 27).

With 25 million young voters who "know little of our pre-depression political and economic system . . . never was it so important as now to implant in youth an understanding of our constitutional system of free enterprise and abiding faith in it." The opinion that "the social question" is merely economic or principally economic is not new with CCG; as far back as 1901, Leo XIII answered this error: "The precise opposite is the truth, that it is first of all moral and religious, and for that reason its solution is to be expected mainly from the moral law and the pronouncements of religion."¹

Men Who Make CCG

Who are the vigilant constituents of CCG who foster such outmoded ideas? Gannett is the owner of 21 newspapers and seven radio stations, who "bared his breast in the cause of freedom—freedom for quacks to medicate the American people and advertise their nostrums in Gannett publications." Thus writes Kenneth Crawford on Gannett's opposition to the Wagner Health bill (*The Pressure Boys*, p. 207). George Seldes claims that Gannett has fought his own employees, has advocated "a narrow and prejudiced policy," has never supported liberal measures and has shown himself inimical to labor (*Lords of the Press*, p. 212). The most voluble CCGer, Sam Pettengill, who once ran a column in the *Saint Anthony Messenger* and still wins favorable comment in the *Ave Maria*, is a lawyer with offices in South Bend, New York and Washington. About him Crawford writes (p. 68): a certain utility lobbyist from the West Coast "con-

¹ *Graves de Communi*, para. 14.

trived to make friends and influence people in Washington. He rented a house in Georgetown, and six Congressmen, among them Samuel B. Pettengill of Indiana, one of the most violent foes of holding-company regulations, moved in with him."

Other directors and members listed on letterheads and in literature include emeritus professor of economics at New York university, Willford I. King, present chairman, who quotes from Adam Smith various principles and observations (cf. *Extracts from hearings*, Amendments to the National Labor Relations act, February 11, 1947, pp. 22, 23); E. W. Kemmerer, economist; Walter Mitchell, Episcopal bishop of Arizona; Frederick Stinchfield, once president of the American Bar association; Frank Vanderlip of National City bank, New York; Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., formerly of Loyola of Chicago; Sol Weiss, New Orleans lawyer; William Ziegler of New York; Louis Taber, once head of the Grange; Robert Dresser; Robert L. Lund, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Other directors and propagandists are connected with groups such as Town Hall committee of Wichita, Kansas; Society of Sentinels, Detroit; Spiritual Mobilization, Los Angeles; the anti-union Foundation for Political Freedom; We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America; American Nationalists; Christian Veterans of America; America First committee; American Democratic National committee; American Action, Inc.; and the National Economic council.

Extensive Program Pursued

To mobilize and educate public opinion ("not to wait to follow public opinion") on constitutional issues, the Committee sent out in its first eight years 82 million pieces of literature, 760,000 books, more than 10,000 transcriptions with frequent national

hookups, 350,000 telegrams to voters and leaders, many thousands of newspaper releases, and lastly, full-page advertisements in 536 newspapers with circulation of 20 million. In 1943, a comparatively quiet year on the constitutional front, CCG's total income and expenditure passed \$300,000. In 14,432 separate contributions CCG received \$261,104.05.

Mr. Sumner Gerard, present treasurer, modestly confirms CCG's healthy functioning with the statement that a great Jesuit university has ordered 20,000 copies of the Norton book in two years. Distribution of printed matter in 1946 totaled 16 million pieces and reached a million "leadership individuals." Pettengill still writes his twice-a-week column, syndicating it to 114 daily papers, 25,000 subscribers and contributors, 10,000 writers, columnists and commentators, 3,000 bishops, clergymen and others. Pettengill now speaks on a broadcast each Sunday. Full-page ads captioned "Save your government from Labor-Boss Dictators" were published in 166 newspapers at a cost of \$60,000. Willford King still turns out his bulletins "for better understanding of wage facts" and manages to air before congressional investigators views such as this: "You (as a laboring man) have just as good a chance of making a contract with a corporation as the corporation has to make a contract with you" (cf. *Extracts from hearings*, cited above). In the same hearing he extolled the benefits of "birth reduction" for the laboring classes.

Current Aims

What are the recent and current objectives of CCG attack? As late as February 11, 1947, King stated: "The program of that organization is to try to further freedom in the United States and to get rid of regimentation—Government interference in business. Those

are our principal objectives at the present time." He added, "We have been working vigorously on that issue [to attack labor laws] now for about six months..." The CCG program, as here given officially by King, a member of the Economic Principles commission of the National Association of Manufacturers, coincides substantially with the platform of NAM adopted in 1935 in its fight against the Roosevelt administration, a program frequently renewed and defended by rugged individualists of all sorts. This is the conclusive judgment of Father Benjamin Masse, S.J. (*Economic Liberalism and Free Enterprise*): "The whole program savors too much of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and the Harding-Coolidge era to be easily accepted by anyone versed in the social teachings of the Papacy."

Certain specific proposals and institutions have recently aroused CCG fury: the Wyatt Housing plan, National Labor Relations act, the "dangerous CIO program" calling for industrial councils, price regulation revival, the original Full Employment bill, unions "with their privileged position, their alliance with politicians, their gigantic funds..."

The 1947 CCG budget called for not a mere \$470,000 supplied and used the previous year, but for \$600,000 and the addition of 700,000 more "leadership individuals" to its mailing list. A small-print note on some appeals entices prospective donors: "It is legal for corporation funds to be expended for the purchase of literature to educate employes, or the public, as to the necessity for preserving those constitutional principles of law and order upon which the successful maintenance of free enterprise and the corporate activities of all stockholders depend."²

Far from easing up after such exer-

tion and drain on liberalist mind and profit, CCG urges its fight more strenuously toward four general aims:

- a. To ward off Communism and Collectivism in U. S. A.
- b. To cut back bureaucratic controls over jobs, business and citizens' lives.
- c. To break the strangle hold of labor monopolists and restore freedom and equality before the law.
- d. To resist special privilege and federal money-seeking pressure groups, and to help Congress save billions by curbing wasteful federal expenditure, so that corporate and personal taxes may be drastically reduced.

Dangerous for Future

Even while such powerful interests are moving relentlessly toward their goals, one "leadership individual" of whom they make little account has been revealing the error and injustice of similar principles and methods, in such a progressively bold manner that CCG may soon turn its guns and money against him. He said, June 13, 1943, to a crowd of workmen: "Woe to him who forgets that a true national society incorporates social justice and demands a just and fitting sharing by all in the goods of the country. Otherwise...the nation would end in a sentimental makeshift, in a nonsensical pretence which would be an excuse for certain groups to withdraw themselves from the sacrifices needed to secure public equilibrium and peace..." Four years later on De-

² *How and Why*, 1946 Financial Report. The item, "Postage on Mass Mailings, \$34,085, the many private mailings sent by CCG under arrangement with some congressmen to use their franking privilege. This practice is not mentioned in official literature but is described in *Frank Gannett*, Samuel T. Williamson, (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940), pp. 187-188.

cember 20 he told the world: "It is incumbent upon all to understand that the social crisis is so great at the present and so dangerous for the future as to make it necessary that each—and especially he who has greater goods—put the common welfare before private advantages and profits." Less than a week later, again to the world, the same person spoke more bluntly: "The lie, the garbled word or fact and trickery have come to be accepted weapons of the offensive, which some people wield with the skill of professionals, boasting even of their competence. So clearly, as they view it, has the suppression of all

sense of right and wrong come to be part and parcel of modern technique in the art of forming public opinion or controlling it and making it serve their political ends."

The speaker was Pius XII.³ And long before, another Pope had said: "The civil power must not be subservient to the advantage of any one individual or of some few persons: inasmuch as it was established for the common good of all."⁴

³ The quotations are from, respectively: *Address to Italian Workers*, June 13, 1943; *Optatissima Pax*, December 20, 1947, n. 6; *Christmas Message*, December 24, 1947.

⁴ Leo XIII. *Immortale Dei*, n. 5.

Lay Apostolate

But as we have learned from hard experience, it is not enough simply to proclaim and expound general principles. If they are to strike the eye and win the heart of the masses, they must be put into practice in the different social milieux by men who, to quote *Divini Redemptoris*, "live in the same cultural atmosphere and share the same way of life." It is evident that the priest has less scope than laymen for this kind of direct action, nor does the Church normally encourage him to attempt it, as can be seen from the recent letter of the French Bishops about priests working in factories (*Social Order*, June, 1947, p. 39). "The first and immediate apostles of the working men must themselves be working men," said Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* (n. 141).

Yet if this is normally the case for the priest as such, nevertheless, it is certainly part of his pastoral charge to train the laymen on whom this mission devolves. And these men, if they are to succeed, must operate like commandos. And here let us notice one of the lessons of the recent war that you cannot train efficient commandos by school-room and text-book methods alone: they need battle practice!

L. L. McReavy
The Christian Democrat

FAMILY DILEMMA AND DIVORCE

Facts on a Great Socio-Moral Problem

by Michel B. Majoli, S.J.

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IN A SPAN OF 50 YEARS, from 1896 to 1946, the population of the United States increased 100 per cent. In that same period, the divorce rate per 1,000 population leaped from 0.6 to 4.3 (over 600 per cent increase) while the number of divorces rocketed from 42,937 to 613,000 (over 1,300 per cent increase). In 1896 the ratio of divorces to marriages was about 1 to 15; in 1946, 1 to 4. If these trends continue, by 1965 one-half of all marriages in the United States will be broken.

It is not a wholesome picture of the nation's social health, from whatever angle you view it—the legal, moral or sociological. The family is the basic unit, the fundamental “stuff” out of which the larger society is composed. A nation is as strong as its family life. Given a shoddy, disorganized family life, the nation will disintegrate as did Rome and Greece before it. The family is the sound link between the individual and society. Break down the family, and either the individual is absorbed by the State (collectivism) or the individual rends the State asunder (anarchy).

What's to be done about this appalling phenomenon? Any discussion of solutions must be preceded by a search into causes. There is little hope of

curing cancer until we delve down into its source.

Search for Causes

Modern sociologists stress the study of social disorders in their total situation. Their approach is analogous to the psychosomatic method of present-day medicine. Doctors are more and more recognizing that man is a mind-body composite, and that physical and mental health are different aspects of the same entity. So, too, are social scientists attacking group ills. The family is an integral part of society, influencing and being influenced by it. Hence, if we would discover the true causes of familial disorganization, we must look not only at the family itself but also at the larger society and at all those factors acting upon both.

To carry our analogy of the medical approach a step further, we might inquire into the “case history” of the family and society, and go back to a period when the American family exhibited greater stability. We note (with Cuber and Harper, *Problems of American Society*) that three concepts largely characterized the traditional family: rurality, patriarchy and sacredness. In 1890, for instance, 65 per cent of the American population was rural. The basic motif of the “American way” was constituted by “rural

occupations, rural ways and rural thinking." The family was the central social unit—the unit of production and consumption. There was familial cooperation and sharing of responsibility. Children were prized, as were other members of the family (unmarried sisters, aunts, grandparents). The members of the family were tightly woven together by the bonds of work, play, prayer and love.

In such a family the father ruled, not with tyranny but certainly with finality. The women, children and elders of the family were under his authority. He was the main producer; legal rights were vested in him; he was the judge in family matters and the leader in family worship. While the sacramental notion of marriage was not prevalent in Protestant America, still, marriage and the family were held as sacred. These institutions were not to be tampered with arbitrarily by men. Reproduction, motherhood and children were regarded with esteem. The family pattern showed a high birth rate, a low divorce rate, and social and economic interdependence.

Family Traits Changed

Today those characteristics of the family have been pretty much reversed. By 1940, 57 per cent of the American population was urban, with almost 23 per cent living in cities of more than 250,000. There has been a distinct trend away from patriarchal rule to greater freedom and "emancipation" of women and children. The once-sacred character of marriage, children and motherhood has been eclipsed by the secular view of life. And secularism, the American hierarchy told us in their statement of 1947, "is at the root of the world's travail today; . . . [it] has wrought havoc in the family. Even the pagans saw something sacred in marriage and the family; . . . [it] has debased the marriage contract by

robbing it of its relation to God. . . ."

Along with this reversal of family characteristics, we note that the family has lost many of its functions to outside agencies. Where once the family was well-knit and independent, performing economic, educational, religious, recreational, protective and affectional functions for its members, today about the only one that remains the exclusive property of the family is the affectional. And the modern family is finding it increasingly difficult to offer sympathy, love and interest in a dwindling, atomistic group that gathers in the home mainly for food and sleep.

Changed Roles of Members

If we view the family from another angle, we note a significant change in the roles played by the members. The husband's role of ruler and provider has been frequently watered down to that of a co-provider for the family needs, in some cases to that of an animated wallet. The wife's role is played less often at home, and even there she is tending to be more of the "glamorous hostess," less of the motherly "heart of the family." The children, when there are any (44 per cent of American families are childless; there are fewer than two children per family throughout the nation), are economic liabilities and often "housing liabilities," and more independent of parental control.

It is against such a background that we must look for the explanation of the overwhelming increase of family instability and break-up. Something has happened to society, and its influence has passed over to the family. Something has happened to the family, and society has felt its force.

One of the major conclusions garnered from the study of social problems is that there is no unilateral

causation explaining the whole phenomenon. The causes responsible for familial disorganization are multiple, complex and interactive. But while admitting the multiplicity and complexity of causes, we can single out certain causes as more fundamental and widespread, and by emphasizing these, attempt to find some solution.

Two Principal Causes

These causes might be reduced to two classes—the individual and the social. The individual cause centers in the spouses themselves, who in many cases, are morally irresponsible and ill-equipped for married and family life. The social cause is found in modern industro-urban society, with its pressures and false values which militate against the success and stability of the modern family. Both causes must come into consideration. If we look at only the inadequacy of modern spouses, we close our eyes to the fact that it is more difficult to make a go of marriage in our contemporary culture. If we overemphasize the influence of present-day industro-urban living, we come dangerously close to socio-economic determinism.

The fact is indisputable that many couples are entering marriage ill-fitted for such a serious undertaking. Father Raphael McCarthy has attributed the chief reason for marital failure to emotional immaturity. According to Father Ralph Gallagher "the main reason for divorce is definitely this, that men and women are not in love with each other and, in fact, have never been in love with each other." Pius XI told us in *Casti Connubii* that the basic principle behind the modern evils assaulting the matrimonial state is that matrimony is considered an invention of man. Finally, in a report made on May 7, 1948, by the American Bar Association committee, the

legal section of the National Conference on Family Life, it is stated: "The marriage fails because of the *failure of the individuals* who marry.... The real grounds (for divorce) lie in the character defects of one or both spouses... which some of us believe can be summed up in *selfishness* and *inconsiderateness*."

Weak Characters Ruin Marriage

This, then, seems to be the first cause of marital failures—character defects of the spouses. These defects show up in their false evaluation of the nature and dignity of marriage and love, of the importance of children (66 per cent of divorced couples are childless), of the need of adjustment and self-sacrifice. Or possessing true evaluations, they have not the courage and strength to live up to them.

Such a spirit is fostered in young people by the individualistic, materialistic and secularistic spirit of the age. A morally spineless educational system; novels, movies, radio that insists on romantic love as the basis of marriage; the failure of the home to prepare children for the serious undertaking of marriage—all play their part in turning loose on the matrimonial scene people who are physically adult but emotionally adolescent, unable or unwilling to make a success of their marriage.

Socio-economic Causes

A second main cause of matrimonial smash-ups is our industro-urban civilization. Married people have to work out their lives amidst the surroundings of twentieth-century living. And this is the century of social mobility, anonymity, complexity, high-pressure advertising, artificiality and conflict. Industrialism and urbanism have herded people into congested areas,

robbed the families of their functions and often of the mothers, and commercialized almost everything from cradle to coffin. Through "conspicuous consumption" the modern family is trying to "keep up with the Van Astors" in an atmosphere devoid of sound social control. Minute specialization, high-speed, insecurity and monotony have often drained spouses of their strength; unsolved conflicts have brought frustrations and discontent and a well-worn path to the divorce courts.

And the solutions? Here is where the family dilemma enters in. The modern family imagines itself faced with two alternatives, each undesirable or unattainable. One is to return to the traditional family pattern of the nineteenth century, a course which seems impracticable and unrealistic. The other is to continue living in the modern manner under frantic tension, insecurity and conflict, a course that gives no promise of longevity in married life. Too, too often the dilemma is "solved" by divorce and another fling at the brass ring as the carousel spins to a circus tune.

Two-fold Plan Needed

The real solution must wage war on a double front—individual and social. We must do all in our power to prepare individuals for successful marriage and keep those married together; and we must try to mitigate and control the evil influences of our industro-urban civilization. Even slight acquaintance with the facts suggests that the former course is more likely to achieve immediate results.

We can supply those contemplating marriage with a well-rounded, adequate knowledge of the many facets of marital life, biological, psychological, economic, religious. Special courses, scientifically, sanely and morally devised, in home management,

marriage and the family, can be offered in high schools, in colleges, in parish study groups and clubs. An example of what can be done is seen in the discussion club and correspondence course sponsored by the Catholic centre of the University of Ottawa. Premarital clinics under Catholic auspices, with marriage counselling and testing of future spouses, can do much good.

For those already married, such activities as the Cana conference movement, marriage clinics, domestic relations courts can help couples meet and overcome the difficulties that arise in their wedded life. Anything that will restore, at least partially, some of the lost family functions, the ties that bind families together, should be fostered. For example, family rosary, family recreations, family gatherings—all can aid in renewing the "we-feeling" of solidarity so essential to family unity.

Work for Social Reform

It is admittedly difficult to change the social factors leading to divorce. But rays of hope are piercing the city skyline. The prophesied decentralization of industry and cities is a fulfillment greatly to be desired. The "Have-More Plan", begun in the East and rapidly spreading, with its emphasis on rural living for city-working fathers, promises help from the tensions of urban living. Another promising phenomenon is a community like Maryridge, near St. Louis, for large families. Encouragement of home ownership, of Catholic family settlements in budding suburbs, of cooperatives in economically under-privileged areas—all such plans contribute some prospects for more successful family living. Certainly they are better than a mere decrying of present conditions.

In a certain sense, "you can't legislate morality." But sound legislation

providing for better housing, for the federalization of divorce laws, and for "cooling off periods" before marriage and before divorce deserve consideration. Of value also will be legal action to clean up foul literature, stage, radio and movie patterns.

National educational campaigns have helped in the past to make the nation more health conscious. Some social scientists sense the possibility of a strong, nationally organized campaign to revitalize the American home. It could educate the public on the

sacredness of marriage, blessing of children, dignity of motherhood, woman's place in the home. For instance, if national advertisers would start putting more than two children in pictures advertising their products, it is possible that some families might be less inclined to think a two-child family normal.

There is the picture, the dilemma and the proposed solutions. The distance to go is far and the road rough. But a forward step now promises a better trip for many families.

Natural Law and Positive Law

Natural law has survived because men naturally think in terms of it. The legal realists tried to exclude values from laws, but in vain. The values which they thrust out through one door reentered through another. And any effort to place those values at any point short of the ultimate principles of the practical human reason is similarly futile. There is no choice between these principles and some other source of values. The only choice is between values and an effort to remake man without values, the consequences of which we have lately witnessed. These consequences are not happy ones, and they are radically alien to the tradition by which we live. Moreover, their appearance in the twentieth century constitutes a warning that however rugged is the force of natural law in human thinking, there is no guaranty, even in a civilization in which that doctrine has been the major thread for a millenium and a half, that that thread may not be temporarily lost, with results which threaten the extinction of justice and the death of that civilization. Truth will rise again, though it be crushed to earth. But it *can* be crushed to earth, and at this moment it is crushed to earth in the larger portion of the globe.

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Notre Dame Lawyer

SOCIAL ACTION BY GERMAN WORKERS

Karlsruhe Catholic Workers Organize Social Research Club

by Johann Werner Mende, S.J.*

Karlsruhe, Germany

SINCE THE END OF THE WAR Catholic workers of Karlsruhe have organized a Catholic Workers' Study group (Katholischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft). Within the society a small circle of men and women who have a special interest in social problems and their solutions have united themselves into a Social Research club.

The procedure of their work is something like this: Each member of the circle selects some special social problem for concentrated study. His objective is not to understand the problem in the abstract, but to study it in the concrete setting of Karlsruhe. He must collect information about the principal difficulties of the problem, conditions in the city, must discover what steps have already been taken to solve the problem and whether the solutions already attempted are based upon Christian or Marxist principles.

Social Problems Studied

Having learned the nature of the problem and previous attempts at solution, he must make a thorough investigation to see if other attempts can be made which are more likely to be successful. In this way we hope to avoid wasted effort on proposals which have already been put to work or have been found to be useless.

After a member has collected his information and is well informed

about his problem, he explains it to the entire group and lays before them his plan of action for changing the situation. Then we discuss the whole problem and decide whether we can do something toward clearing up the problem. Up to the present time the following programs have been put into effect.

Aid Released POW's

1. *Care for returning people* (Heimkehrerdienst). A moment's reflection will make it evident that prisoners of war returning from prison camps face the greatest social and moral difficulties in adjustment. They have been through extremely bitter experiences and often physical sufferings; the cities to which they return are totally different from those they left. In a word, they find it hard to re-enter normal life and to get accustomed to the community life of the parish.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that the return of a prisoner of war is often accompanied by very great disappointments. The reality of his home and the reception he finds do not square with the picture he had formed of them.

In every parish of the city there has now been appointed one man whose special job is to take care of the returning POW's. He has a list of all former parish members still held as prisoners. As the parish repre-

* Translated by Walter Draeger, S.J., Saint Mary's College.

sentative, he writes to these prisoners regularly in the name of the pastor and of the parish. At Christmas and Easter the parish sends small packages containing little gifts and some good literature. In this way each POW is made to realize that he has not been forgotten by his home parish. Other members of the parish visit families of POW's and war widows and occasionally bring them gifts.

When relatives receive word that another ex-prisoner is returning to Karlsruhe, a widespread 'newsagency', operating by word of mouth from man to man, informs the parish trustee of the prospective return. After the POW arrives, he is helped in the complex business of visiting authorities and adjusting himself to civilian life. Forms must be filled out in a dozen offices; the new resident must get his ration and registration cards; occupation regulations of many kinds must be observed.

Later the trustee introduces the new parishioner to the pastors and inducts him into normal parish life. In much of this work he is assisted by the Catholic Organization for Men (Katholisches Maennerwerk).

Advice on Occupation Problems

2. *The Catholic Office for Consultation on Social Questions* (Katholische Sozialberachtungsstelle). This is an organization closely connected with the above mentioned institution. In this office there is one person officially employed to act as a consultant for various social questions. He is in touch with governmental and private agencies set up to help in various ways. Since he is familiar with forms and procedures employed in different offices, he is able to help civilians who must make applications of different kinds. Moreover, he is acquainted with the Catholic men who

are working in various government agencies, in business, or who are otherwise able to help.

In this way the Catholic Office for Consultation on Social Questions has reached a high degree of efficiency. The scope of this institution is almost without limit and grows wider every day. Both parishioners and government employees are grateful for the work done by the Office to expedite complicated procedures.

Study Social Teachings

3. To spread a knowledge of Catholic social teaching, we opened last winter a *Social Seminar* (Soziales Seminar). The meetings, however, were not open to the general public. At a preliminary meeting of all organizations, especially those for youth, we explained that we wanted a select group of leaders. These representatives, most of whom were officers of their societies, were in a position to do direct social work and teaching in their associations. In this way we were able to secure an audience of about 40 young people who were interested in the work and who cooperated excellently.

The Seminar was conducted for six months. We met one evening a week for a period of two hours. In four courses we handled the following topics: The Fundamental Principles of Catholic Social Teaching, Selected Questions on the System of Political Economy, Selected Questions on the System of Labor Economy, Rights of Labor. During the six months the members of the Seminar were able to get a wide knowledge of Catholic social principles and of their practical application.

During the summer months the Seminar was continued with a somewhat smaller circle of participants. At these meetings we tried to apply what

we learned in the winter Seminar to the concrete social problems of our day. What we hope to achieve is not only a thorough understanding of our Catholic solutions, but also the ability on the part of our students to discuss and explain these teachings to others.

Plans have also been laid for a series of publications on social topics. To date, however, we have not been able to edit these.

Rebuild Housing

4. The most important institution which developed out of our study circle is the *Christian Housing Aid* (Christliche Wohnungshilfe). To help in overcoming the greatest social evil of our times in Germany, the lack of housing facilities, we try to sponsor the building and restoration of houses. Such an organization has been functioning quite successfully in Augsburg since the latter part of 1945.

Our Christian Housing Aid was founded in March, 1947, and has as its objective the reconstruction of destroyed or damaged houses by procuring the necessary materials and workers. Funds for the work are provided by the house owners themselves. Since most of the houses are intended for rental, they are returned to the rental market after rebuilding. In this way the Christian Housing Aid, which cooperated generously with the owner, has established friendly relations with him and is able to obtain dwellings

first for those who are active in our organization.

Our members are, for the most part, Catholics. But since we have no restrictions with regard to creed or party and are called the *Christian Housing Aid*, we have many Protestants among our members.

All our work of procuring materials is done through legal channels in closest cooperation with proper government officials. To secure results we appeal to their spirit of Christian charity, and we have found that if many people each sacrifice just a little bit, a considerable amount of good can be done.

At the present time we are working on the reconstruction of our first large building. When it has been completed, eight dwellings and one office will be available for occupancy.

The work is now under way. It may well be that methods will have to be changed as time goes on and we have more experience. But the goal will always be the same: to overcome the lack of housing facilities by procuring new homes.

The work being done by the Social Study club at Karlsruhe is not vast, but it is the work of the people. They are mastering social thought and ideals as they go on; they are improving themselves by study and action; they are helping others with their social problems; above all, they are helping to rebuild a broken land upon Christian social principles.

Danger of Cotton Mechanization

If mechanization of cotton production should quickly become as complete as it is in wheat growing in the Wheat Belt, employment for former farm workers might become an acute problem, unless they could be drawn quickly into urban jobs. As I see it, now, when we are prosperous, is the right time to set up new industries in the South and to train farm workers for their new employment. Personally, I feel that the South will be able to handle its own labor problems if it will start in time.

Mechanization and Southern Agriculture

by I. W. Duggan, Governor, Farm Credit Administration

REMUNERATION AT BOIMONDAU

Wages Based on Total Contribution

by Francis J. Corley, S.J.

ISO

WAGE AND SALARY in the United States are determined almost exclusively by the estimated economic value of work done. Whether the payment is to a janitor who sweeps out a factory or to its highly-paid president, the amount of wage or salary each receives is determined by the man's value to his company. In some operations this economic value can be determined with reasonable accuracy by processes of job analysis and cost accounting. In others, since the economic value includes such intangible factors as good-will and prestige, the precise value is more difficult to determine.

But in all cases wage is computed, almost exclusively, by the cash value of work done. Even annual bonuses, which obviously are founded, to a certain extent at least, upon motives of philanthropy, are calculated in proportion to the amount of each worker's ordinary wage.

The system of remuneration at the Boimondau Community of work (SOCIAL ORDER, March-April, 1948, pp. 241-246 and September, 1948, pp.) is based upon much broader and more humane considerations. The Community is a community. Its members are united not only in the economic activity of factory work, but in the whole business of living. They have a share not only in an industry, but in a complete human life. And because each

member of the Community makes a contribution not only of work but of many spiritual gifts to the Community, his remuneration is computed upon the basis of his total contribution to community life.

It will be seen at once that this idea differs radically from what we might call conventional remuneration, just as radically in fact as the method of life at Boimondau differs from what we might call conventional industrial life.

Surplus Divided

In order to make somewhat clearer Boimondau's system of remuneration, it might be good to give a few details.

The financial returns of the Community are derived from the sale of factory products (watch cases), of products from the community farm, from revenue obtained for services to those outside the Community and from lectures and other forms of entertainment given by Boimondau people. All of these returns are commonly owned.

There is no capitalism at Boimondau, and no member of the Community is permitted to receive interest in any form, either upon loans which he makes or by way of dividends from his share of the capital goods. Saving, on the other hand, is obligatory and communal, since the property belongs to the entire Community. Savings are considered essential since man cannot continue to work, improve his tools

and protect himself against the uncertainties of life, unless he produces more than he consumes.

Savings Natural

For the individual worker, saving must be individual even in the case in which a man does not own his own tools of production. For a life so completely communal as that at Boimondau, savings must be communal, since ownership and maintenance of tools and protection of the individual are community responsibilities. The obligation to save, they insist at Boimondau, comes not from any cupidity or lack of trust in Divine Providence, but from the nature of things considered in the light of the virtues of prudence and providence.

Every three months the General Council at Boimondau determines the amount of money which must be set aside for community savings. This amount is decided by consideration of future expenses and plans for expansion and must be large enough to provide for current needs, new investments and protection against all reasonable risks. This amount is ordinarily at least five per cent of the total volume of business during the three-month period, so that a total of 20 per cent of gross income is saved each year. When a sufficiently large reserve has been built up, the amount of saving will undoubtedly be reduced. The amount determined necessary for saving must be set aside before any money is distributed to any members of the Community.

The total returns before savings have been deducted are called gross income; returns after savings have been deducted are called net income. The entire net income is distributed periodically among all the members of the Community. The criteria used in determining the amount of money to be given to each member of the Community are the most interesting

feature of the community system of remuneration. Each person's worth is determined by what is called at Boimondau his human value. There are seven categories used in determining human value: 1) Professional value, 2) social value, 3) cultural value, 4) "avocational" value, 5) physical value, 6) comradesly value, 7) social risk. A word of explanation about each of these.

Criteria for Division

Professional value: This represents the worth of the practical job each man does in the Community and corresponds to the ordinary criterion for wage in our American system. At Boimondau, as elsewhere, this is the largest single factor in determining remuneration, since the principal basis of economic return must always be economic contribution. But even the professional factor in wage is not determined in precisely the same way at Boimondau as in an ordinary factory. More details of the method will be given later in this article.

Other Values

Social value: This concerns the principal non-economic contribution which each individual makes to the Community. It is obvious that in any society not all members have the same social value. A worker may have practical skills or some specialized knowledge. A machinist who can sing or play the violin or teach mathematics or who is friendly and cooperative is of much greater worth to the Community than an equally skilled machinist who is morose or unsocial. The life of the Community depends not only upon the fact that both are machinists, but upon their total social contribution to community life.

The result of social remuneration is that all members are eager to improve their social value. Since points are given for these contributions, and each one's points for social value are

determined not by himself but by the other members of his immediate group. he is eager to be a generous social contributor.

Intellectual value: All school courses which the *compagnons* follow are given notes. There are six courses: French, mathematics, human geography, ethics, singing, physical culture. A student receives 10 points for each course he follows.

Variety Encouraged

"Avocational" value: The authorities at Boimondau recognize that the constant strain of factory work is difficult. The jobs require steady application and involve strain on eyes and bodies. To give factory workers a change of surroundings and an opportunity to relax in a completely different type of work, they are assigned brief periods of work in the gardens or on the farm.

Similarly, those whose ordinary professional work is agriculture spend short periods doing some form of industrial work for which their skills fit them.

The term "avocational" is an attempt to express the idea of *contre effort*, as the people at Boimondau term this effort at variety. *Contre effort* not only has the advantage of giving variety and change, but it helps workers to understand the activities of their fellows.

While the coefficients and notes given for *contre effort* are the same as for factory work, their sum is divided by 10, since normally, this work occupies only a tenth of the time given to professional activity.

Physical value: Serious efforts are made at physical culture by way of gymnastics, sport and general health care. Each *compagnon* is a member of a health team, and his physical-value points are determined each quarter by the other members of his team.

Favors Community Spirit

Comradely value: One of the principles at Boimondau is that the Community must be kept small enough so that each member may know all of the others. This is necessary if it is to be truly a community. In order to foster the spirit of a community, each member is graded on his *valeur de camaraderie*. Each quarter every member receives a list of names of all the Community. After each name he marks a note corresponding to the degree of his relations with that individual. The average of all these notes constitutes each one's *valeur de camaraderie*.

Social risks: This note takes care of absences due to illness or any other cause. If a member is absent from work for a good reason, he is entrusted to a team which cares for him. If he is sick, he is sent to the infirmary or placed under the care of a doctor. Those who do not take normal care of their health are penalized; however, one who is sick through no fault of his own receives full assistance for the time of his absence. This corresponds, to a certain extent, with conventional health insurance in the United States except that only one who is normally careful receives full sickness benefits.

Each worker receives a value for each of the categories noted above, and his wage is determined by his human value, which is the total of all his values to the Community. Each three months the human value of each worker is computed; all human values for the entire Community are totaled; the sum is then divided into the sum of money to be distributed, to learn the value of each note in human value. His share is then his human value multiplied by the money worth of one point.

A man's total human value is computed by adding together all seven of these values. He is paid on the basis

of his total human value. This is an example of the sheet on which human value is computed:

Name:
Position in Community:
Community Responsibility:
Social Qualification:
Social Responsibility:
Professional Qualification:
Professional Responsibility:

Date: Quarter:

Designation	Coefficient	Note	Value	Remarks
Professional value				
Social value				
Cultural value				
"Avocational" value				
Physical value				
Comradely value				
Social risk				
Human value				

Example of Wage

Suppose Worker A has a total human value of 750 points, and the total for the entire Community is 150,000 points. If the Community has 500,000 francs to distribute, that sum is divided by the total of points. In our example each point would be worth 3.3 francs. Hence, our worker would receive 2475 francs as his share of the community income.

Before explaining the way remuneration is computed from total human value, it will be necessary to give a few more details about professional value. Professional value, it will be remembered, is that which corresponds most closely with our normal wage system.

Every position in the Community is given a "professional coefficient" determined by the economic value of that particular job to the Community. An example will clarify this. The following table is an example of the coefficients for certain types of workers:

Throughout the Community there is a hierarchy of work which is evalu-

SCALE OF COEFFICIENTS

	Apprentice	Qualified Workers		
		1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class
Die tooler		45-60	30-45	30
Die cutter	27	31, 5-42	24-31, 5	
Finisher	27	30-36	24-30	18-24
Lathe operator	27	42-54	36-42	30-36
ASSEMBLY				
Jewel assembly	27	42-54	30-42	38-30
Parts assembly		42-54	30-42	30
Finisher	27	42-54	30-42	24-30
Finisher				
Maintenance Men				

ated on a scale of coefficients ranging from a minimum of 27 (normally) to a maximum of 150, which is the coefficient assigned to the head of the entire Community. According to each worker's skill, he will be placed in a definite class and assigned a coefficient according to the value of his work.

Thus, a young worker, after finishing his apprenticeship, will become, for instance, a third-class lathe operator and be assigned a coefficient of 30. As he becomes more skilled his coefficient will be raised until he advances to the second class. He will progress steadily, if his skill continues, until he reaches the top of his job-range. Then he will either continue at that level or go on to a more skilled job.

Professional Note

In addition to his coefficient, each worker gives himself a note. The professional notes are based on application, production figures, etc., and help to distinguish between workers having the same coefficient, but whose output varies considerably. Notes are scaled from 1 to 20; each worker sets his own note, but any worker in his group may challenge his right to it. To figure professional value a worker's coefficient is multiplied by his note.

Thus, a third-class lathe operator whose coefficient is 30 and who gives himself a note of 15, would have a total professional value of 450.

At the end of a quarter, then, the huge bookkeeping process of estimating human values is begun. Each worker's professional coefficient is multiplied by his professional note, let us say, 30×15 . Because our worker has many social graces and skills, his associates in his social team, who know him well, give him a total of 100 points as his social value to the Community. Since he is taking two courses at the time, one in mathematics and one in singing, he receives 20 points as his intellectual value. For his "avocational" effort he is given 45 points. His physical team estimates his physical value at 30 points. The average of his notes for comradeship comes to, let us say, 30. Since he has not been ill during the past quarter, he receives no assistance to take care of illness. His human value, then, which totals 675, is as follows:

Professional value.....	450
Social value.....	100
Intellectual value.....	20
"Avocational" value.....	45
Physical value.....	30
Comradely value.....	30
Social risk.....	0

In the same supposition which was used above, namely, that the entire Community had a total of 150,000 points, and there were 500,000 francs to distribute, in which case each point would be 3.3 francs, this worker would receive 2,227 francs, 5 centimes.

All Members Share

It must be remembered that every member of the Community receives a share in community funds. Unlike the American system in which only the father of a family receives a wage (unless mother or children are em-

ployed), all activity at Boimondau is considered worthy of reward. The young women often do work on the farm, in the factory or offices, or in the homes of married women, helping them with housework. After marriage, a woman's principal work is maintaining her home. This work of wife and mother gives her a right to a share of the community income and is given a human value in the same way as her husband.

An infant is also given a share, according to a fixed scale. When he reaches school age, his share is computed, as that of all adults, on his human value. This human value is determined as follows: After an examination of his aptitudes, the child's future professional worth is estimated by the General Council, and he is given opportunities to study and work. He is permitted to enjoy these opportunities as long as he produces results commensurate with his ability. During their years of study, the boy is apprenticed to some craft so that he will have a professional skill. All this time he receives income proportionate to his estimated future worth to the Community. It has been asserted in *France Alive* by Clare Huchet Bishop that remuneration is given to children from the time that conception has been certified by a physician, but this statement does not appear in the French brochure on Boimondau.

Not Unduly Complex

It will probably seem to most readers that this is an extremely complex system for computing wage. It is. But anyone who has had slight acquaintance with modern industrial pay rolls in the United States will realize that the amount of work involved in the quarterly Boimondau system is not greater than our weekly payrolls which must be computed on an hourly and sometimes a piece-work basis, with

deductions for tardiness, additions at time-and-a-half or double time for overtime, with further deductions for income tax withholding, for social security and for union dues.

Vastly more important and well worth the additional trouble involved in computations, is the emphasis placed on social contribution of the worker to his community. The industrial revolution has placed tremendous emphasis upon the wage contract and the economic value of work. The result has been that few services have been recognized as worthy of reward unless they have money value. It is probably true that this emphasis has contributed greatly to the breakdown of societies in modern industrial civilization. As more and more economic relations become the only ones with any significance, other bonds uniting men tend to be loosened.

Although radicals, like Marx, inveighed against the wage system, there has been little effort to recognize any other contributions to the community, except those which can be given a direct economic value. The principle exception to this statement would be the trend in recent times on the part of the state to develop social security programs.

All Contributions Paid

Boimondau is unique in that every form of contribution to community welfare is given a money value and receives a money reward. While it is true that there are other, spiritual rewards for social contributions, Boimondau undertakes to emphasize the worth of these contributions by considering them on a level almost equal with productive work.

Boimondau is unique also in that it gives remuneration to every member of the Community. In all societies, women, who are productive workers, receive pay for their work, and there

is a strong tendency in most countries to compel employers to pay them on precisely the same scale as men, according to the principle "equal pay for equal work." But at Boimondau even those who are engaged in housework and the rearing of children—and the children themselves—are paid. In this way, the need for such devices as scaled wage or family allowances is eliminated.

Those who have shared the Boimondau experiment assert that this form of remuneration lays great emphasis upon the social worth of the Community's members with the natural result that everyone is more careful to make himself a living, cooperative member of the Community. It is frequently remarked in the report on Boimondau that remuneration and the system of grading make everyone zealous for self-improvement and more perfect sharing of the total life of the Community.

The net result is, as the report also asserts, that the community spirit at Boimondau is high. Father Dujardin in his article on the Community remarks that the idea of Boimondau cannot be translated literally into other societies or countries. That is true, and the same statement must be made of Boimondau's system of remuneration. But the spirit that informs both is important and must, by some means or other, be communicated to other societies. If men are to develop, as Pius XII says, "the social spirit in one's immediate neighborhood, in the district, the province, the people and the nation, a spirit which by smoothing over friction arising from privileges or class interests, removes from the workers the sense of isolation through assuring experience of a genuinely human, and fraternally Christian, solidarity," they must imitate at least the community spirit of Boimondau.

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING

The GMC-UAW Contract

THE 3c INCREASE given to all General Motors hourly-wage employees on September 1 indicates the practical effectiveness of the contract signed last May by the General Motors corporation and United Auto Workers (CIO). The increase will help keep GM wages in line with current rises in living costs as reported in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' *Consumers' Price Index* (CPI).

According to the contract signed on May 25, 1948, for a period of two years, the GMC and UAW agreed to the following terms:

- 1) An immediate 3c-an-hour increase to compensate for rises in cost of living since drafting of the last contract.

- 2) An immediate 3c increase in wages to increase the standard of living of workmen.

- 3) An additional 3c increase on May 29, 1949, for further improvement in the standard of living.

- 4) Quarterly adjustment of wages up or down at the rate of 1c an hour for each 1.14 change in the CPI

It was in accordance with the last-mentioned point of the contract that the 3c increase was granted on September 1.

Between the April BLS report and the end of July, the CPI had risen a total of 4.4 points from 169.3 to 173.7. Hence the 3c increase granted in September did not adequately compensate for this rise, because increases are granted only in units of 1c for each 1.14 rise in the CPI. The 3c-an-hour raise helps meet only 3.42 of the re-

cent increase, leaving .98 uncompensated. This is the equivalent of about 35c a week.

Principle Acknowledged

It is important, however, to note that both GM and the UAW have recognized the principle of periodic adjustment; revision of the amount of increase may improve equity of the arrangement.

The advantage to employees of the escalator clause is that it tends to keep wages currently abreast of rising living costs. Instead of a full-year delay in wage increases until contract expiration brings up new wage negotiations, wages now rise automatically at three-month intervals. In this way, wage lag is cut down by 75 per cent.

A second advantage of the clause tying wages to the CPI is that it will reduce haggling at the time of renewed contract negotiations. In as much as wages will be keeping pace with cost-of-living changes, there will be no need for large union demands in new contracts. It is likely that the only issue will be proposed changes in the amount granted at periodic revision.

The approximately 265,000 GM hourly-wage employees will receive a total of about \$318,000 more each week as a result of the automatic increase. This addition of \$318,000 weekly to its wage bills may tend to make GM a more vigorous advocate of anti-inflation measures. Every reduction in the CPI will result in reduced wages for GM workers (to a maximum reduction of 8c as of Sep-

tember 1) and in a consequent saving for the company.

Floor Set to Reductions

However low the CPI may fall, wages cannot drop below the level of May, 1948. This is done by stipulating that downward wage adjustments shall not be made below a CPI level of 164.7. The floor under wage reductions is an important part of the contract, and it is unlikely that the union would have accepted the proposal if this provision had not been included. As it stands, wages cannot be reduced by more than 5c, no matter how low the CPI may fall. Thus, the absolute minimum auto workers can receive is the wage they were making in May, 1948, when the contract was drafted. As long as the CPI continues to rise, workers' wages will keep abreast of cost of living, but when it drops sharply they will begin to receive the full benefits of the contract. It is likely that union leaders are assuring GM workers that the sooner they lose their recent cost-of-living increases, the better it will be for them and for the whole country.

Only time and experience will demonstrate the full significance of the agreement reached last May. The immediate effects, relative peace in the automotive industry and better income for automobile workers, are important enough, but UAW's successful negotiations, which have already been followed by UE, may well be imitated by other unions dealing with large corporations. Far more important than temporary effects, however, are the new policies accepted by both parties to the agreement. One of these new policies, the automatic increase in 1948 and 1949 for improved standards of living, is a significant recognition by America's largest manufacturing corporation that some equitable share in technological improvement

should be given to workers.

Of this concession, a joint statement issued by John W. Livingston and T. A. Johnstone, both negotiators for UAW, said:

Instead of sharing its dangerously inflated profits beyond a cost-of-living adjustment based on a depressed 1940 wage, General Motors offered an annual increase of 2 per cent or 3 cents an hour as a gesture toward keeping the workers' purchasing power abreast of the increased output resulting from technological advance in the national economy. This figure itself short-changes the principle involved. But it is important that the General Motors workers are entitled to a share in the growing output of an expanding economy.

Whether the 3c annual increase, which is two per cent of the average hourly wage, is an equitable share in profits from technological development and represents adequately the increase in workers' production per man hour, only careful accounting will determine. But recognition of the principle is extremely important.

Proposal Questioned

An editorial in the August 14, 1948, issue of *Collier's*, (p. 78), says, concerning this part of the agreement:

The "annual improvement factor" is a new and an ambitious consideration. Only a large and thoughtful organization could dare promise to increase efficiency annually so that it could afford to make a wage increase based on improvement of production. Behind that pledge to improve industrial processes and to share the fruit of improvement are research, engineering, advertising and mass production. Invention following scientific experimentation is the way to such a goal.

A large corporation rich in man power can risk such a bet on its future, but too many lesser industrial enterprises lack such aids to improvement. Nevertheless where an enterprise does grow and better its productivity, it is wise to distribute widely these gains.

It may be that *Collier's* has somewhat exaggerated the daring of GMC's undertaking. In the first place the 3c

increase for improvement in standards of living, together with the 8c cost-of-living increase, is less than UAW had been demanding to bring wages in line with prices, and less than Chrysler or Ford employees received. Wages, even after the increase, bear a ratio of 1:1.14 with living costs.

Moreover, the first increase was made in May, 1948, when GM had a good idea of its future production costs and even a fair idea of material costs and likely increases. They were also aware of improved production techniques which might reduce costs. Hence, the only important gamble was the 3c increase in 1949, and this was well worth the risk if it brought industrial peace and good will.

Further Problems Raised

Two questions raised by the "annual improvement factor" merit some reflection.

Industries which, like GM, are relatively non-competitive will find it much easier to hand on to employees a share of increased productivity than will competitive industries. In tight years competitive industries, such as agriculture, textiles, clothing and leather goods, will have to cut prices so closely that there may be no actual income from increased productivity. If such industries had granted annual improvement provisions, payment of these increases would mean serious loss. The result will be that, if the annual improvement factor spreads to all non-competitive industries, workers in these industries would be rising progressively above wage levels of other workers. There would be consequent injustices and dissatisfactions as well as danger of a serious imbalance in the economy.

The second question raised by introduction of the annual improvement factor is the share which should be

given to workers. This increased income could be kept entirely by stockholders, or divided between stockholders and workers (as at GM), or returned to the consumer in the form of lowered prices. If increased productivity were uniform throughout the entire economy there would be no difficulty about distributing this increment *within* the industry. But since increases are by no means uniform, as has been indicated above, it might be better to distribute this increase throughout the economy in the form of reduced prices.

Wages Tied to CPI

The second large principle which has been recognized as a determining criterion in wage is the cost of living. Neither party in the contract was eager to adopt this provision. The Corporation hesitated to assume obligations which could not be forecast and might jeopardize profits. But painstaking research has shown management that, if the formula had been adopted in 1940, wages would be only about 1c an hour higher than they actually were. And an almost incalculable amount would have been saved from strikes, unsettled work conditions and dissatisfaction.

The Union, like most American unions in the past, was reluctant to tie wages to any cost-of-living index. This reluctance rises from: 1) unwillingness to restrict workers to an unchanged standard of living. It is their contention that wages should be sufficient not only to meet the costs of a fixed standard of living, as would be the case if wages were tied to a cost-of-living index, but that wages should steadily increase so as to improve the workers' standard; 2) criticism on the part of labor leaders about the accuracy of the most authoritative American cost-of-living index, the Bureau of Labor Statistics *Cost of Liv-*

ing Index (now called the *Consumers Price Index*).

UAW is not the first union to accept a formula which ties wages to a cost-of-living index. This principle has long been used in European countries, notably Germany, England, Sweden and Switzerland. After World War I similar agreements were adopted by many American unions, especially those in the printing trades. This practice continued until the price decline of 1920, when wage adjustment clauses were almost universally abandoned to avoid decreases in wages. Before World War II, less than five per cent of collective bargaining agreements provided for wage adjustment during the life of the contract. In the war years, however, sharp rises in living costs made annual agreements hazardous, with the result that about 40 per cent of manufacturing agreements provided for wage reopening, many of these explicitly to compensate for changes in cost of living. The CPI principle was employed in 1946 by the Oil Workers union (CIO) in their agreement with the Sinclair Oil company.

There has been a growing tendency to write into agreements provisions calling for automatic adjustment of wages to conform to changes in the *BLS Index*. In addition to this, other agreements have called for bonuses over and above wages to meet increases in cost of living.

Shows Changed Attitude

This trend is significant not only because it sets an objective criterion for wage determination but also because it indicates the improved opinion in which the CPI is held by the labor leaders. For a long time the old *BLS Cost of Living Index* was under attack from both the AFL and CIO. These attacks increased in violence during the war years when multiple changes in conditions of living made

an accurate reporting of costs extremely difficult. Labor leaders asserted that numerous factors accounting for rise in cost of living were not adequately reported in the *Cost of Living Index*. Among these were quality deterioration in goods purchased, forced trading-up because of disappearance from the market of low-cost commodities, decline in special sales and rent increases difficult to evaluate.

Whether adoption of the cost-of-living formula by such huge unions as those for oil, automotive and electrical workers indicates a general change in union attitude or merely disagreement with the contention of other leaders, is difficult to say. At any rate, acceptance of this principle by these unions and by UE in its negotiations with GMC marks a distinct step forward toward peaceable negotiations.

It is unlikely that UAW would have accepted the tie-up of wages with the CPI had not the annual standard-of-living increase been included. Without the latter increase, GMC workers would be inextricably fixed to a standard of living which could not rise unless costs dropped greatly. As it is, the industry has recognized that workers should improve their status continually. Adoption of this principle not only permitted a peaceful settlement of GM-UAW differences and set an example for other industries, but it is a good step toward improving employer-employee relations.

This policy is a far cry from the attitude adopted by GMC in 1945 and merits the praise it has received. It is probably safe to say that the agreement marks the gradual maturing of relations between union and management in the automotive industry and the development of a spirit of cooperation. The Union sees in this agreement an acceptance by General Motors of the principle "that prices and profits are a concern of labor."

{ TRENDS }

Employers and Employees Plan Reforms

A French association of employers, the Union of Industrial Leaders for the Association of Capital and Labor, is doing pioneering work in planning the reform of industry. A little pamphlet published by the Association outlines the theoretical and practical changes that must be introduced to improve relationships between employers and workers.

The Association recently sponsored an international congress of workers and managers to exchange views about various plans already in operation for industrial reform. In France alone more than 2,000 enterprises are experimenting with various new devices. Reports were presented about these experiments, and their relative merits were discussed.

Among the plans discussed were the following:

A system of proportional salary under which all workers receive a basic wage, augmented for workers whose departments achieve superior production results.

An autonomous shop scheme, by which each stage of production is considered as a separate entity, and workers in each shop are paid according to the commercial value of their work.

Another group has organized a Workers' Investment society which has as its purpose to assist workers to have a share in industry through investments. Generally these investments are not made in their own industry, but in some other enterprise.

The Boimondau community (*SOCIAL ORDER*, March-April, 1948, pp. 241-246, September, pp. 311-320), in which all members of the Community own the property in common and share in the income. Elsewhere in this issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* is an article on the system of remuneration in the Boimondau community.

Most significant of these reform devices is that introduced by a group of Catholic employers, all members of the Association, who have given employees a share in man-

agement as well as in profits and capital increases.

How revolutionary is the Association's idea of industry's future will be clear from the introductory sentence of the Association's manifesto, *Pour une Structure Nouvelle de L'Entreprise*: "In the new industrial structure which the Association proposes, the enterprise does not belong to an employer or to capitalists; it constitutes an entity, an institution for the development of which those who supply the means of production and those who supply the labor associate themselves with the company's creator or his successors."



Presidential Elections

A great deal of discussion is being carried on at the present time in private groups, such as the League of Women Voters and the Republican Forums, about changes in the procedure for electing the president. A resolution has been introduced in both Houses of Congress proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for direct election of president and vice-president. The procedure under the new amendment would be approximately as follows: 1) Each state would retain its present number of electoral votes, equal to the number of its senators and representatives; 2) the electoral college and presidential electors would be abolished, so that the people would choose the president by direct vote; 3) the electoral vote of each state, instead of going as a unit to the plurality candidate, would be divided in exact proportion to the popular votes for all candidates; 4) under the new plan there could be no deadlock necessitating election in the House of Representatives. This proposal would have the advantage of designating the president on the basis of gross national plurality. The inequities of the old system can be made clear by an example which Congressman Lea used recently in the House. Suppose Candidate A receives a slight plurality in New York State and

Candidate B plurality in Nevada. Each candidate would have approximately 3,000,000 votes. Yet in the electoral college Candidate A would receive 47 votes and Candidate B only three. Under the proposed amendment each would have 25. If three candidates are running in the election, it might be possible for Candidate A to receive 480,000 votes of the 1,200,000 cast and the other two candidates as much as 720,000. Yet Candidate A would receive all of the votes. Under the proposed amendment Candidate A would receive 4.8 electoral votes, Candidate B 4 votes and Candidate C 3.2 votes.

Social Studies in Canada

During its last meeting, the Hierarchy of the Province of Quebec, set up a Sacerdotal Commission for Social Studies, composed for the most part of chaplains of various professional associations. Among the members of the commission are numbered Father Emile Bouvier, S.J., general chaplain of the "Associations Professionnelle des Industriels," and Father Jacques Cousineau, chaplain of the Montreal Council of the National Catholic Syndicates.

The principal task of the Commission will be to study all questions which bear upon the social ministry of its members, as also those questions which the Hierarchy may wish from time to time to submit to them. They will, in addition, be charged with the organization of an annual, Priests' Social Study Week.

Vocational Groups for Ireland

The Constitution of Ireland specifically provides for the "recognition of functional or vocational councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the people" (1937, Art. 15. 3).

In 1943 the Commission on Vocational Organization, after a three-year period of investigation and study, brought out its comprehensive 539-page report. The report, a study of the history and contemporary applications of the theory of corporatism, together with an analysis of its application to the Irish economy, proved to be a notable contribution to the literature of social theory. Recommendations

favored the gradual establishment of the vocational group system in Ireland.

Due possibly to the exigencies of war and to political differences, little has been done to implement the findings of the Commission.

Early this year Archbishop Dalton of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, brought the question to the fore once again when he stated publicly that he hoped, for the good of Ireland, that the Commission's recommendations be acted upon without delay.

"Like the human body," said the Archbishop, "the social organism, to be perfect, must be composed of different organs or groups, each with its special function to fulfill." But he added that these corporations must not be arbitrarily imposed from above, but must grow up freely and spontaneously from below, encouraged, stimulated but not dominated by the state.

Science Foundation

The Science Foundation bill passed the first session of the 80th Congress and was vetoed by President Truman. Reintroduced in the second session of the present Congress, it was debated at some length early in May. The new bill undertakes to satisfy some of the President's objections to the earlier bill, but even if it should pass in its present form, it is still likely to be rejected by him because serious restrictions upon its independent functioning have still been retained. Presidential appointments to the Foundation, while ostensibly free, are regulated under the bill by certain national bodies who would be able seriously to influence the President's choice. In the present bill the director of the Foundation is appointed by the President, rather than chosen by the members of the Foundation. The Executive committee, which had been set up in the bill vetoed by President Truman, has been eliminated so that the Foundation itself establishes and carries out policy.

The entire question of national defense has been eliminated from the function of the NSF because this work has been entrusted to the National Military establishment by the National Security act. No provision has been made in the present bill for research in the social sciences, but

this matter has been left entirely to the discretion of the Foundation itself. Four divisions have been set up: medical research; the mathematical, physical and engineering sciences; biological sciences; and scientific personnel and education. Authorization is granted to set up other divisions as the Foundation deems them necessary. Scholarships or fellowships may be granted to American or foreign educational institutions.

It is unlikely that the bill will pass the House in this session of Congress.

On April 15 of this year Cardinal Griffin of Westminster addressed a letter to his clergy in which he calls for establishment of an association of Catholic employers. He has been an active sponsor of the Catholic trade-union movement in England and alludes to its successful activities in his letter.

"I feel it would be extremely useful if we were to have an Association of Catholic Employers, run on similar lines to that of the Catholic Trade Unionists."

He asked parish priests to call preliminary meetings of Catholic employers in their parishes to prepare them for the June meeting and requested that official parochial delegates be designated to attend the organizational meeting.

DP Immigration Begins

The first trickle of displaced persons, approximately 2,500, will enter the United States during October. Security screening is in process at the present time, and visas will be issued for those approved for admission. Activity of Catholic Diocesan Resettlement directors has brought to light more than 7,000 homes available for Catholic refugees, 4,600 jobs and 2,500 sponsorships. Ocean transportation will be provided by the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee organization.

Assertions have frequently been made that the present DP bill is discriminatory against Catholics. Concerning these charges a statement from the War Relief Services—N.C.W.C. says: "The claim has been made in some newspapers that the legisla-

tion finally passed discriminated against Catholics. At no point was this claim made by any official representative of War Relief Services—N.C.W.C. or the National Catholic Resettlement council. On the contrary, we had committed ourselves to the need for getting legislation passed and if necessary, to seek amendments thereto at later sessions of Congress.... We feel that despite objections which have been raised publicly against this bill, many Displaced Persons can be brought to the United States and resettled in accordance with the provisions required by the legislation."

U. S. Learns about UNESCO

At San Francisco last May, 3,500 persons attended a three-day Pacific Regional Conference on UNESCO, which was sponsored by the United States National Commission for UNESCO. To the Conference came civic leaders from all of the Pacific states as well as from the territories of Hawaii and Alaska.

Purpose of the Conference was to make known to delegates the present activities of UNESCO as well as techniques for informing people at home about this work. The general aim of the Conference was to improve understanding of UNESCO and to foster better international good will. The Conference has established a permanent Pacific Regional Office for UNESCO at 623 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

Interracial Developments in the South

Recent developments in the interracial movement in the southern states, seldom publicized as much as the racist politicoes' public utterances, indicate a definite, measurable and promising progress.

At least two diocesan papers (Louisville and Mobile) have come out in support of the Truman Civil Rights recommendations, and in June, Father William Patrick Donnelly, S.J., president of Spring Hill college (Mobile), spoke publicly in favor of the same program, indicating that positive, constructive steps would soon be taken by his college. Several weeks earlier two campus groups at Spring Hill announced

resolutions urging the admission of qualified Negro students. A course in Race Relations was given at the summer session by Father John T. Walsh, S.I.

In New Orleans, an interracial commission was organized among the members of the National Federation of Catholic College students of four schools, Loyola, Dominican, Ursuline and Xavier, with weekly meetings at Loyola all summer. Special speakers discussed the Urban league, seminary interracial work and study, developments in Saint Louis, personalist approach to the interracial problem and the economic cost of segregation in New Orleans. More than 60 delegates from the four schools assembled at the closing meeting to receive the encouragement of Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel. A weekly bulletin was issued under the title, *The Christian Conscience*. The Commission was scheduled to resume activity and meetings September 20. It proposes to start a speakers' bureau.

The Catholic Committee of the South in cooperation with the American Veterans' committee has been broadcasting a weekly talk in support of Civil Rights over a New Orleans station.

Two Negro secular seminarians will shortly be ordained for work in New Orleans and Lafayette. Seminarians at Notre Dame (New Orleans) have gone on record as favoring the admission of Negroes to Notre Dame.

Italian Action

Elsewhere in this issue we print an article by Father Robert G. North on the Italian civic committees whose activities in recent elections contributed substantially to the defeat of Communism. Catholic Action, which organized the civic committees, has announced more recently the establishment of a Center of Study for the Problem of Religious Indifference. CIP reports that the problem of religious indifference in Italy must be solved before practical efforts can be undertaken to substitute the Christian for the Communist social formula. For this purpose the Center has embarked upon an eight-point program:

- 1) The causes of religious indifference.
- 2) Types and gradations of indifference.

- 3) Typical manifestations of religious indifference.
- 4) Study of plans of action against indifference.
- 5) Connection of the problem of religious indifference with social problems.
- 6) Use of modern techniques in the fight against indifference.
- 7) Formation of specialized organs for the fight against indifference.
- 8) International coordination of the organs engaged in this fight.

Racial Restrictive Covenants

The recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court prohibiting judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants for housing has been a great step forward for the Negro, and implicitly for other racial minorities. As a result of the decision, no householder can secure state cooperation in excluding anyone from residence because of his race.

Legislation to restrict residence had been outlawed as early as 1917. The private agreement became popular in the following years as a device to exclude unwanted neighbors. The Department of Justice brief as *amicus curiae* cites more than 40 cases in which courts in 19 states and the District of Columbia have enforced such covenants.

The Department of Justice brief gave three arguments which should impel the Court to declare judicial enforcement of covenants unconstitutional. The arguments were: 1. It is opposed to the Fourteenth amendment and to laws of the United States (specifically the Civil Rights act of 1866. 2. It is contrary to the public policy of the United States. 3. It is an invalid restraint on alienation of property.

The Court settled the four cases by reference only to the Fourteenth amendment and to the Civil Rights act of 1866. By the decision, no court may enforce private agreements against sale to or occupancy by Negroes.

Although presently existing racial restrictive covenants will continue and others may be drafted in the future, an interesting note in the brief mentioned above raises the possibility that even these private agreements may be prohibited. "In proceeding upon the premise," says the brief, "that *only governmental, and not individual*, action is prohibited by the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments, we do not

mean to imply that this assumption, based upon the decision in the Civil Rights cases, is not subject to re-examination by this Court. Competent scholars have long questioned the correctness of that ruling." (Italics inserted),.

Whether this further action will ever be taken remains to be seen, but it is true that the recent decisions have been very important. Now the whole weight of law is committed to protection of Negroes who try to move out of the ghettos into which they have been confined.

In Baltimore, for instance, Negroes, who constitute 20 per cent of the population, have been confined to two per cent of the city's land area. In Chicago's South Side, Negroes are crowded at the rate of 30,000 to the square mile. One block in New York's Harlem houses 3,871 persons! At that density, asserts Raymond M. Foley, Administrator of the Housing and Home Financing agency, the entire population of the United States could be accommodated in half of the New York city land area.

For the present, the best weapons against restrictive covenants are a constant pressure out of the ghettos by Negroes themselves and education against the prejudice which still impels whites to draft these discriminatory contracts.

Action by the People

Citizens who criticize the government for its failure to establish just laws for all, often fail themselves in that they, as individuals, do not take action. In regard to the Negro's lack of opportunity for economic advancement, Father Owen McCann, editor of South Africa's leading Catholic weekly, *The Southern Cross*, stated in an editorial: "In a truly democratic country people do not wait for the Government to lead the way. *They do it themselves.*" Father McCann asserts that a share of the blame must be borne by the ordinary businessman and employer who fails to take into his business those of other races. This individual action could be taken, along with reasonable precautions to avoid interracial friction. *The Southern Cross* declares that mere education will not change the situation. In order

for education to be of use it must be accompanied by opportunity, especially occupational, or vocational.

Communism in Unions

When we read that more than 165 national unions and almost 8,000 locals are in full compliance with the requirements of the Taft-Hartley act concerning non-Communist affidavits, we realize that by and large the trade-union movement in the United States is free from Communist domination. It remains true, however, that a certain number of unions still are subject to Communist control, either from national offices or in some of the state and local offices. How slowly Communists are driven from positions of power is evidenced by the fact that of the 15 unions authoritatively listed as Communist dominated in October, 1946, by the *Wage Earner*, only one, the National Maritime Union, has been completely freed of Communist domination. In the others, Communists still remain more or less firmly entrenched. Nevertheless, current opposition to Communism in American public opinion and our difficulties with the Soviet Union, especially in Germany, are turning rank-and-file union members against leaders whose allegiance is divided between Communism and good trade-union interests. The list as quoted from a recent report by *Counterattack*, "the newsletter of fact to combat Communism," is as follows: American Communications Association; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers; International Fur and Leather Workers; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; Transport Workers Union; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; United Farm Equipment Workers; United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union; United Furniture Workers; United Office and Professional Workers; United Public Workers; United Shoe Workers.

Recent rightist advances include: Election of Joseph Curran and his entire slate of 131 candidates for various offices in the National Maritime union, election of Martin Wagner and a sympathetic executive

council in the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers union, formation of the American Radio association (CIO) after a break from the leftist American Communications association, two further breaks from the United Office and Professional Workers (New York social service workers, who joined the Shipbuilders, and a group of several thousand insurance agents, who set up a special division in the Paperworkers union, (CIO), withdrawal of 24 out of 27 locals from the castings division of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers by Ken Eckert, who set up the National Association of Die Casting Workers with about 16,000 members, transfer of 3,500 in the Chase Brass local of MMSW to the AFL and a bolt of 3,500 fruit tramps from the CIO's Food and Tobacco Workers union to the AFL National Farm Labor union.

Splits such as these are the tragic results of earlier compromise with Communist or Communist-led officers. More tragic still are the total losses to trade unionism that result from refusal of union officers to comply with Taft-Hartley anti-Communist-affidavit regulations.

Union-Management Sponsored School

The Botany Mills at Passaic, N. J., was one of seven large industrial enterprises studied by the Joint Congressional Committee on Labor-Management Relations and favorably reported in the Committee's Report No. 986 of March 15, 1948 (pp. 53-68). Under the enlightened leadership of Colonel Charles F. H. Johnson and Major General Irving J. Phillipson for the Company and Mr. George Baldanzi and Mr. Charles Serraino for the Textile Workers Union (CIO), excellent industrial relations exist in a company which, as recently as 1926, was seriously endangered by a violent and bitter strike.

Outstanding among many achievements under this leadership is a cooperative course in labor-management relations. The text for the course, called, *The Botany Plan*, was prepared by General Phillipson. The manuscript was submitted to union authorities for revision and approval. After all parties had approved the text, it was printed as a 190-page book, which is used in the 16-session course, attended jointly

by supervisors, shop chairmen and shop stewards.

Instruction is provided by members of the industrial relations staff of the Company and representatives of the Union. The course is, and is intended to be, extremely practical. Built upon real situations that have arisen, it is intended to acquaint labor and management representatives with procedures that have been mutually agreed upon under their contract.

The course itself and the general trend of relations in the Company are a tribute to the wisdom and sound judgment of all parties concerned. SOCIAL ORDER hopes to print an article on the whole Botany story in a later issue.

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The Physically Handicapped

Some 28,000,000 men and women in the United States suffer from a physical handicap at the present time. Of these about 6,000,000 are now in the labor force. It has been estimated that more than 1,000,000 more could be gainfully employed if jobs were available for them.

The Department of Labor has completed a two-year study of 11,000 workers, all of whom suffered at least a 50 per cent disability, in which it found that physically handicapped workers are well able to hold their own with others.

The study showed that workers with physical impairments have made outstanding records. They are slightly more efficient than the unimpaired and have better safety records. Absenteeism of the handicapped is only slightly higher (about a day a year) than for fully able workers, and voluntary severance records of the two groups are about the same.

It is obvious how valuable these workers would be to the American economy if they could be made producing and self-supporting workers, instead of dependents, to say nothing of the spiritual benefit to the handicapped individuals themselves. In order to interest employers in this large group of workers, a Federal inter-agency committee sponsors each year a National Employ the Physically Handicapped week. This year, for the fifth time, the week will be celebrated, October 3-9.

BOOKS

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN LABOR-MANAGEMENT PRODUCTION COMMITTEES. — By Doris Duffy. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1947, viii, 227 pp. \$2.50.

For anyone interested in the possibilities of applying practically the industrial-councils plan of the Popes, this book will provide an excellent study. It continues the work of Frs. Trehey and Munier, concentrating specifically, however, on the labor-management committees as they operated during the war.

The author has divided her study into three parts, treating first, the committees and their activities, the work of the Government in their promotion and operation, and the role of government in labor-management relations in the light of Catholic social principles. She devotes four chapters to the first part, giving a definition of the committees, a description of their organization, structure and distribution. In the third, she describes their activities, their nature and scope and in the fourth presents estimates of their success as given by government officials, management and labor representatives and public figures.

In the second part she studies the committees and the war production drive in general, outlining the problems it encountered and giving an evaluation of its work. In the third part she discusses Catholic principles for government intervention in labor-management relations, as well as the war production drive and labor-management committees in the light of these principles.

In defining these committees the author emphasizes their supplementary role in the collective-bargaining relationship. These committees are organized to exploit the area of *common interest* in the industrial setup. They are designed to improve production techniques by providing more normal channels whereby the experience of the workers will exert some influence on the production policies of management. He observes that the labor-management

committees are in complete harmony with Catholic principles, and provide an approach to the industrial-councils system of economic organization.

Her careful study represents a departure from the enthusiastic paeans with which some zealots of Christian social reconstruction have greeted these committees. Evidently the scope of their activities was much more limited than less careful writers would lead us to believe. While in some plants they did enjoy a measure of influence over productive activities, in most cases it was indirect, by means of the suggestion systems. In the vast majority of firms, moreover, their activity was limited to morale building and promotional schemes.

That they were worthwhile in increasing production is shown by a host of testimonials from representatives of management, labor and the public. As a device for removing much of the ignorance that obstructs intelligent management-labor co-operation, at least in areas of mutual interest, they are clearly an advance.

On this educational benefit the author bases some hope for future industrial relations. Recognizing that with the end of the war these committees will have difficulty surviving, she looks to the government for their continued support. This she regards as "one of the promotive functions of government as outlined in *Quadragesimo Anno*." The function of government in this field should, however, be to serve and not to control either management or labor. It should conduct studies and make its findings available to firms and unions which are willing to develop the idea. She emphasizes especially the voluntary element essential to a sane program of industrial activity.

This book suggests another study — labor-management committees since the war. Present-day students emphasize the impact of impersonalization and anonymity in modern factory production on the individual worker and on industrial relations. Since these committees provide a technique for increasing the participation of labor

in productive effort, it would be valuable to learn how industrial relations have survived the post-war turmoil in those plants which have retained the committees.

This book will prove a valuable source of material. A doctoral dissertation, it not only gives a clear and definitive treatment of these committees, but provides as well, an extensive and varied bibliography.

I.S.S.

JOSEPH M. FALLON, S.J.

FROM VERSAILLES TO POTSDAM.

—By Leonard von Muralt (tr. Heinrich Hauser). Regnery, Hinsdale, Ill., 1948. 93 pp. \$2.00.

THE GERMAN OPPOSITION TO HITLER.—By Hans Rothfels. Regnery, 1948. 172 pp. \$2.50.

IN DARKEST GERMANY.—By Victor Gollancz. Regnery, 1947. 252 pp. \$3.50.

These three books study three stages in the life of modern Germany and range about but do not dwell upon the Hitler regime.

Leonard von Muralt, a professor of modern history in the University of Zurich, presents an amoral examination of Versailles and its effects. The end of World War I did not conclude hostilities which were continued in the form of a dictated peace, impoverishing (and impossible) reparations, as well as arbitrary and vengeful boundary decisions.

Hostilities actually ceased at Locarno in 1925, but that was already too late, since the two great nations which Versailles had attempted to exclude from Europe, Germany and Russia, had already reached the beginnings of agreement in the Treaty of Rappallo, in 1922.

Professor von Muralt does not attempt to exculpate the Germans for World War I or for Hitler. But he shows that compromises (dictated peace terms later weakened by negotiation), inconsistencies (the self-determination principle violated in the case, for instance, of Slovaks and Ruthenians in Czechoslovakia; Croats, Slovenes and Montenegrins in Yugoslavia or the conflicting policies which allowed a plebescite to determine the German-Danish boundary in Schleswig while decisions were arbitrarily made in the case of the Vistula corridor and Danzig), and politi-

cal blindness are all serious faults committed by the Allies.

For the future Professor von Muralt urges a strong Europe, ("Politically European means the totality of its great powers, Great Britain, France, and Germany, plus all of its medium-sized and small states.") as the third force which must hold in balance the two great world powers of today: the United States and the USSR. Germany must be included in Europe because an attempt to exclude it would only lead to another Rappallo, vastly more disastrous than the first.

Hans Rothfels, formerly of the University of Königsberg and now at the University of Chicago, gives a brief, factual survey of anti-Hitler activities within Germany. Unorganized opposition was widespread; at no time did Hitler win more than 37 per cent of votes before seizing power, and even in the hysteria following the Reichstag fire he won only 44 per cent.

Organized opposition was carried on openly by church leaders and secretly by former political leaders, notably socialists and Centrists, by former members of trade union organizations, by a few intellectuals from the universities, by army leaders, business men, aristocrats, and by church men. Incidentally, although Professor Rothfels mentions a representative number of Catholic opponents to Hitler, he speaks deprecatingly of the Concordat and nowhere mentions *Mit Brennender Sorge*.

Plots for the overthrow of Hitler and plans for the future of Germany went on hand in hand throughout the country. It is impossible to learn clearly from this book all of those who cooperated, and full details may never be known. Active plots began with the attempt of a Munich group in 1934, which was broken up by the purge of June 30. Although resistance was not widespread in the army, there were numerous attempts from 1938 until the best-known, that of July 20, 1944.

More interesting than the plots are the plans for the future of Germany. Several groups outlined programs for seizure of the government, punishment of the criminals and for political and economic reforms. Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, a pre-Nazi mayor of Königsberg, drafted a complete plan involving a parliamentary sys-

em (in early stages the program included restoration of the monarchy) in which one house would be elected partly by direct universal suffrage, partly by local and federal representative bodies. The other house would comprise representatives of employers, trade unions, churches, universities, etc.

The better-known Kreisau circle, headed by von Moltke, to which Fathers Delp and Roesch were attached, laid great emphasis upon economic reform which included economic democracy, agrarian reforms, dissolution of monopoly and cartels, nationalization of key industries, factory communities, joint worker-employer management of industry.

It is tragic to realize that many of these noble-minded men were sacrificed and their causes frustrated at least partly by Allied refusal to lend them moral assistance or even recognition.

Mr. Gollancz' book is a careful, detailed and moving account of living conditions in the British zone of occupation between October 2 and November 15, 1946. The author is the well-known Jewish socialist publisher who can not be suspected of untrue sympathy for the Germans. In order to substantiate his account of starvation, serious health conditions, and wretched housing against the denials of British authorities, he brought back numerous authentic photographs, 144 of which are reproduced in the book.

The Henry Regnery company, which published these three books, as well as two others reviewed elsewhere in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER, also issues the Human Events pamphlets. More than any other single agency in America this publisher is striving to remind us of our responsibility in Germany, a responsibility upon which rests the future peace of the world. As President Hutchins says in his introduction to Mr. Gollancz' book: "We have allowed Germany to sink into a state of despair and misery and in doing so have threatened the structure of the entire continent. We now desire to halt the downward decline. We grant some concessions. For the moment they may appear to be impressive. But we should not delude ourselves into thinking that Europe is saved. In Germany we shall demonstrate

to the world whether our ideals of freedom, individual rights, and democracy have any real content."

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT, Selected Papers.—By Chester I. Barnard. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948, pp. xi. 244, \$4.00.

This book is a collection of nine previous papers and articles by the distinguished President of the New Jersey Bell Telephone company. In them the author explains his philosophy of leadership, his attitude towards economic planning and his thoughts concerning the nature of organization and other related subjects. The unifying thread which runs through the chapters is that all of them have to do with some aspect of organization.

The unusual feature of the book is that a prominent business executive, such as the author is, shows an interest in abstract thought. His interest seems to be quite genuine and profound. One would expect a man in his position to show a decided preference for concrete phenomena and only impatience with abstruse reasoning, but, on the contrary, the author devotes almost the entire book to abstract analysis in an effort to discover the nature and remoter causes of his subject-matter.

To be sure, he is not always successful. Sometimes he is needlessly obscure. At other times he is at great pains to expound the obvious. Not all his thoughts are original or acceptable. But, withal, it is immensely encouraging to find a business executive whose interests are broad, whose thoughts are not circumscribed by the superficialities of the business world and whose reading is not limited to newspapers, popular periodicals and trade publications. Mr. Barnard is clearly a thoughtful man, and many of his thoughts will prove stimulating to the thoughtful reader.

Equally encouraging is the refreshing progressiveness of the author's views on industrial relations, even though we may disagree with some of them. One of his fundamental tenets in this matter is that the employer must recognize that the employee is a human being and that development of the individual workers is the pri-

mary consideration in personnel work. He is convinced that paternalism and philanthropy should not be considered substitutes for fair wages and that employees and employers are impelled by many non-economic motives which are frequently more important than the economic. It is indeed very refreshing to find such thoughts expressed by a respected executive of one of our major business enterprises.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.
I.S.S.

RACE AND NATIONALITY AS FACTORS IN AMERICAN LIFE. — By Henry Pratt Fairchild. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1947. 216 pp. \$3.00.

This volume of the Humanizing Science series presents the opinions of a former authority on immigration, an ex-head of the American Eugenics society, and a one-time president of the American Sociological society. Now in retirement after twenty-six years at New York university, Professor Fairchild sees the race problem with the blurred vision of a man far past his mental prime.

The first part of the book treats the different aspects of ethnocentrism, of race, and of nationality. Fairchild makes the surprising revelation of the obvious fact that the concept of race has always included much cultural content. While deploping gross race prejudice as unscientific, the author espouses many of the tenets of the racists under the guise of established truths about nationalities.

In respect to the Jews, his *bete noire*, the strident eugenicist is still as intransigent as he was 25 years ago while active in the anti-immigrant movement. On pretense of facing objective facts, Fairchild resurrects and justifies many of the hoary canards about Jewish superiority complexes, unassimilation, and tenacious clinging to "foreign" loyalties.

"The major part of anti-Semitism," he states (p. 145), "and the particular part that does the most damage, is embodied in persons who have had more or less close and extensive associations with Jews and represents the reactions created in

one nationality by direct and tangible contacts with members of another nationality." The *Fortune* poll for October, 1947, discovered the major part of anti-Semitism to be where there were fewest Jews.

Professor Fairchild's personal prejudices also vent themselves against the Church. As a liberal who demands freedom only for himself, he waxes wroth against the Catholic exercise of freedom of religion, of assembly, and of cultural life. "Indeed, the increasing aggressiveness of the Roman Catholic church, its progressive invasion of social fields, such as birth control, venereal disease education, child welfare, censorship, etc., which are not by the majority regarded as distinctly religious areas, and the growing resentment and stiffened resistance of non-Catholics — Protestant Christians and others — give warning that a serious rift in the solidarity of the American nation may yet be caused by religious incompatibility." (p. 136)

The book is marred by the tone of querulousness, by the constant quibbling, and by the nominalistic word-play of the author. It contributes little of value to sound theory, objective research, and workable social technology in the field of race and nationality problems.

ALBERT S. FOLEY, S.J.
University of North Carolina

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION. — By Elton Mayo. Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration. Cambridge, Mass., 1947, 26 pp. 50c.

Two lectures, delivered at a Conference on Human Relations and Administration, constitute the third book in a series of studies of industrial civilization.

Recognizing from an empirical study of industry—as Toynbee has recognized from a study of civilization, and Pius XI from a study of man's nature—that technical progress cannot make a civilization, Professor Mayo goes on to indicate the area of study in which a solution to the chaotic disorganization of all societies, from nations and groups of nations to factories and families, is to be found.

"The medieval ideal of the cooperation of all is the only satisfactory source of civilized procedure." Discovery of solutions to two main and one contributory problem: 1. The scientific and technical problems of supplying the community's economic and material needs; 2. The scientific and technical problems of effective communication and cooperation; and 3. The problems involved in the systematic ordering of operations, is the task he sets his colleagues. And he indicates his conjecture at the solution in the sentence quoted above.

It may well be that in the course of their investigations his colleagues will come to recognize that neither will nor force, but rather reason, must be the basis of the state.

F. J. C., S.J.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCE, A SURVEY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS (abridged, one-volume edition). — By George C. Atteberry, John L. Auble, Elgin F. Hunt. Macmillan, New York, 1946, xii, 787 pp. \$4.00.

A one-semester text for junior colleges, this book follows the "problem" approach as opposed to the "academic discipline" approach in otherwise similar surveys. The two-volume work of which it is a condensation appeared in September, 1941. An original preface by Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, noted: "Although the authors (fifteen teachers in Chicago junior colleges) of this volume have attempted to present the most authentic knowledge that is available on their respective topics, I could not claim for them that their work will be found wholly unbiased on all the issues they have treated. It is possible to say something much more complimentary and significant about their work, however, namely, that they have made diligent efforts to make their biases explicit and bring them out into the open where they may be viewed in relation to other conceivable biases and in the light of the facts established by the consensus of the competent." (foreword, vi).

Among the problems considered are the following: personal maladjustment, delinquency, family, housing, health, recreation, public opinion, race, population, competi-

tion, agriculture, labor organization, economic insecurity, political parties, public revenue and taxation.

Neither an introductory outline nor syllabus, even this condensation is a rather full treatment of most of the problems originally considered in the two-volume edition. Choice was made of problems having a "peculiar relevance to our time." The book does not rely extensively on supplementary reading.

DAVID LILIENTHAL, Public Servant in a Power Age.—By Willson Whitman. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1948, 245 pp. \$3.00.

Willson Whitman is a woman journalist and free-lance writer out of Texas. She is the author of one of the standard books on TVA, and one of the earliest, *God's Valley*. Study of the Valley and its administrators in preparation for that book and a series of articles for various journals has given her many opportunities to know and appreciate the work and the thought of David Lilienthal. It also afforded her a wide grasp of the various interest groups and the eddies and currents of economic and political controversy swirling about the TVA administrator, who is now the chairman of the Atomic Energy commission.

Someone has called this book "a mental biography" of David Lilienthal, and it is a fairly apt term for it, albeit a little exaggerated. It is rather a sketch drawn from the principal events in the record of Lilienthal, the public servant, with short quotations that indicate his attitudes toward his work, his colleagues, political, social, and economic objectives and relationships.

This is not a profound study, but it is timely and valuable as a picture of the man who is the center of public policy deliberation even while this review is written. Political pressures (and even political chicanery) at home, and international developments both here and abroad will bring Lilienthal and his philosophy of life and of public service more and more attention. He will be yet more praised and condemned; there will be confidence

and distrust and honest doubt. This book furnishes a simple and adequate picture for those who want to know the kind of man he is who has been entrusted with the control of the awful potentialities of atomic energy.

From the establishment of TVA in 1933, and Lilienthal's appointment as one of the three original directors, the record of the man is traced to the present day. Apparently much use has been made of newspaper records and public documents, especially Senate reports and hearings. The early conflicts of policy in TVA purposes and administration are described, the first opposition, the gradual winning over of opponents, the benefits for farmers and business men in the Valley. There is a section on the war contributions of TVA, on Oak Ridge and the atomic plant, the selection of Lilienthal for the Atomic Energy commission, the battle over Senate confirmation, the magnitude of the task, the possibilities for good or evil.

Most valuable is not the record of events but the record of Lilienthal's attitudes and policies woven into the narration: his recognition of political and economic and social realities, his gift for adaptation to circumstances without yielding one iota on principle, his profound spirituality in the midst of the most practical and material projects, idealism joined with worldly wisdom, dignity and patience under indecent misrepresentation and calumny. These things the reader will find, and be glad for.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.
I.S.S.

CHRISTIANITY AND PROPERTY.—

Edited by Joseph F. Fletcher. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1947. 221 pp. \$2.50.

This volume represents a cooperative effort on the part of eight prominent Protestant-Episcopal leaders to set forth a non-official statement on the relation of the Church to property. The essays are well executed and make for general interest to the layman or professional interested in the development of social attitudes within the Anglican communion. A great deal of praise is due the editor, not only for the concluding essay on a "Theological Perspective," but also for the arrangement and unified pattern which he brought to the work.

The position of the Church in relation to property is developed historically from the Christian point of view. Hence, the first essay deals with Old Testament foundations of communal ownership, and the subsequent ones develop this idea through the New Testament, the patristic age, the middle ages, the Reformation, the general Protestant position from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, the Anglican attitude and finally the present position of many liberal Protestants. The point of view of the authors is that of Christian socialists who believe that the only answer to the present problem of a definitely diseased capitalistic society is common ownership of the means of production.

It is readily admitted with the authors that there were "communistic" societies, understood aright, among the Israelites, the early Christians and the medieval monks. But random scriptural quotations can establish no apodictical foundation in doctrine for the general thesis, for even "the devil can cite scripture for his purpose." All of these communal enterprises were, it is true, effects of the doctrine they held, but effects that flowed easily within the limits of small groups in an untechnical day and age. Furthermore, there is no proof that this theory was baptized for universal adaptation.

By far the most interesting chapter, by virtue of its synthesis and insight, is the one on the middle ages by Frederic Hastings Smyth. However, Dr. Smyth errs by extending the success of monastic communal ownership to universal possibilities, by treating the problem of property as if it had no bearing on the natural law and, in general, as if the problem were one only of sociology and psychology.

The essays are by no means an exhaustive treatment of any period, and hence the early chapters really never prove the thesis by merely quoting scripture here and there. The current of thought throughout is in general unbiased and scholarly. However, a note of pessimism is struck from the Protestant doctrine of original sin and the "massa damnata." Here and there one senses the redolence of modernism and a narrow interpretation of the encyclicals. In the sixth chapter Vida Dutton Scudder cannot resist making a few naughty aspersions at the Roman position mostly by her

choice of adjectives after the manner of *Time* writers.

In general these writers differ from Catholic thought by considering the right to private property, not as a secondary deduction from the natural law, but as simple positive law. They are interested primarily in a communal ownership of the means of production but, not being restricted by any natural-law scruples, they can dive in where we must sound the depths. We all admit that the common good must be considered but so must man as an individual, endowed with rational nature. The recent popes have felt that the ownership of producer goods needs some restriction, but they have never gone as far as the authors of this little text would like.

It was disappointing not to find some comment on the corporative form of society as envisioned in *Quadragesimo Anno*. Dr. Fletcher seems unwittingly to come to this solution in the last chapter where he says, "The proposal that socialization go forward instead of backward, that the 'corporation' be expanded to include the whole community, of labor, management, and consumer, is the issue to be settled in our day." On the whole this is an interesting contribution to social thought and makes one realize that some of the leaders of Protestant thought are coping with problems about which more Catholics should be concerned.

FREDERICK J. ADELMANN, S.J.
Boston College

A NEGRO NATION.—By Bernard S. Maloy, M.D., Chapman and Grimes, Boston, 1947, 31 pp. \$1.25.

THE NEGRO LOOKS INTO THE SOUTH.—By Rev. Edward Gholson, Chapman and Grimes, Boston, 1947, 115 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Maloy's brief essay examines social and economic conditions of the Negro in the United States and expresses doubt that the injustices done to colored people will ever be righted. As an alternative solution he proposes a Negro nation to be set up beyond the confines of America. His most concrete proposal is that some of the recently-conquered islands of the Pacific

be turned over to them for independent colonization.

It is doubtful if many Negroes will accept this solution even to the galling conditions in which they are compelled to live.

Reverend Gholson briefly surveys the status of the Negro in the South. Obviously such a quick examination can have neither the thoroughness nor the accuracy of, for instance, Myrdal's study. But his brief chapters on each of the areas of injustice express the Negro's point of view with vigor. The author wisely assigns to religion the responsibility of improving conditions.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF CRU-
SADING.—By Raymond P. Witte, S.M.,
Ph.D., National Catholic Rural Life
Conference, Des Moines, Iowa, 1948.
274 pp. \$3.00.

Four years ago Brother Witte of St. Mary's university, San Antonio, Texas, was asked to write the full story of the National Catholic Rural Life conference. This volume resulted.

In eleven chapters the author traces the growth of a movement most important to the Catholic Church in America, though widely ignored and tragically minimized. Too few of us realize that the Church today in the U.S. is an urban institution, that it is *not* reproducing itself, that the rural birth rate alone maintains our present population. Even fewer will realistically conclude that we must do everything possible to promote Catholic life on the land. Such facts fortunately led Bishop Edwin O'Hara in 1921 to form a bureau to study this serious problem.

The various subsequent works of NCRLC (and previous historical trends, too) are detailed in this heavily-documented book. Brother Witte, starting with a chapter of bombshell statistics, takes up the steady progress of the yearly conventions, describes the leaders in the work and discusses the many special projects inspired and promoted by NCRLC. Space is given to Fathers Rawe, LaFarge, Adams, Gibbons and to the St. Marys Rural Life committee. There are several appendices and a good index.

When one considers the importance of this problem, it is strange that so few Jesuits show any interest. This book, despite its monotony in format and its heaviness, ought to generate some concern among teachers and pastors. It would well furnish basic material for study clubs, organization programs, sermons and lectures.

R. BERNARD, S.J.
St. Mary's College

HITLER IN OUR SELVES.—By Max Picard. Henry Regnery, Hinsdale, Illinois, 1947. 272 pp. \$3.50.

Max Picard, Swiss philosopher, sees the Hitler phenomenon not as an isolated incident, but as a symptom of sickness in the whole modern world. Hitler and his cohorts were merely the most diseased men in Germany, Germany merely the most diseased country in western civilization.

The disease Picard names "discontinuity," by which he means everything that is the opposite of order and cohesion. Man is cut off from tradition and history; he is cut off from all sources of ideas and stability: religion, philosophy, history, science. He lives in an era of technology, which is essentially impermanent and obsolescent.

Socially man is atomized because there is no oneness. He lives in a city which is a mass, but not a community; his life is fragmented by work, recreation, home life. He reads magazines which are a formless *pot pourri* (*Life* and *Time* would be good examples); he listens to radio programs on which the Emperor concerto can be followed by an ad for bubble gum, or the Sacred Heart program by a plug for four-way-stretch girdles. He reads newspapers which chronicle a series of crises, lives in an age when the arts are incoherent (cubism, Stein, dos Passos, Joyce, "hot jazz"), when philosophy concentrates on the instant (Sartre, Heidegger), when principles are replaced by expediency.

Hitler, then, is not a sport, a mutation, but an extreme of type. First step in therapy is recognition of the disease; nature itself, both human and inanimate, will help in recovery. Growth of community by the development of small unities men can assimilate (laender, small industries,

craftsmanship, villages) will help. But in Christ and Christianity, above all, Picard sees the hope of Germany and of the world. Christ is the center of history, the mediator between God and man, the bond of union amongst men, the Truth Who can order all truth, in Whom continuity can be found again.

The book is not easy to read and occasionally annoys. It is poetic in expression and at times bizarre. But it is an incisive analysis of a great and all-pervasive evil.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OF STUDENT YWCA's.—By Yolanda B. Wilkerson. Woman's Press, New York 1948. 159 pp. \$2.00.

From a study of interracial attitudes and constructive programs to improve them in 222 American colleges of all types, Mrs. Wilkerson finds that Negro students suffer more than other minority groups from discrimination in personal, professional and social relationships. She notes an implicit tendency on the part of campus YWCA reporters to evade a serious analysis of the problems facing their colleges.

The nature and extent of interracial programs to better campus attitudes distinctly disappoints the author. It certainly is not encouraging to find that of 222 institutions only one-fourth list definite goals set for the year's interracial program, with half reporting "no definite goals" and a fourth reporting nothing whatever (p. 116). There are 27 tables and appendices. In Chapter VII the author sums up her evaluations to show that YWCA interracial programs rarely lead to definite positive action on the campus, seldom provide for the continuous education of members. Overall there seems to be little sound preliminary analysis, a lack of definite objectives, a restricted effectiveness. "Truly, major and widespread improvements are sorely needed," she concludes.

The Catholic interracial movement would profit immensely by similar thorough studies made in the Sodality, the Catholic Daughters, the Holy Name, the Knights of Columbus and other groups.

R. BERNARD, S.J.
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